AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF CHINA

HERBERT · H · GOWEN

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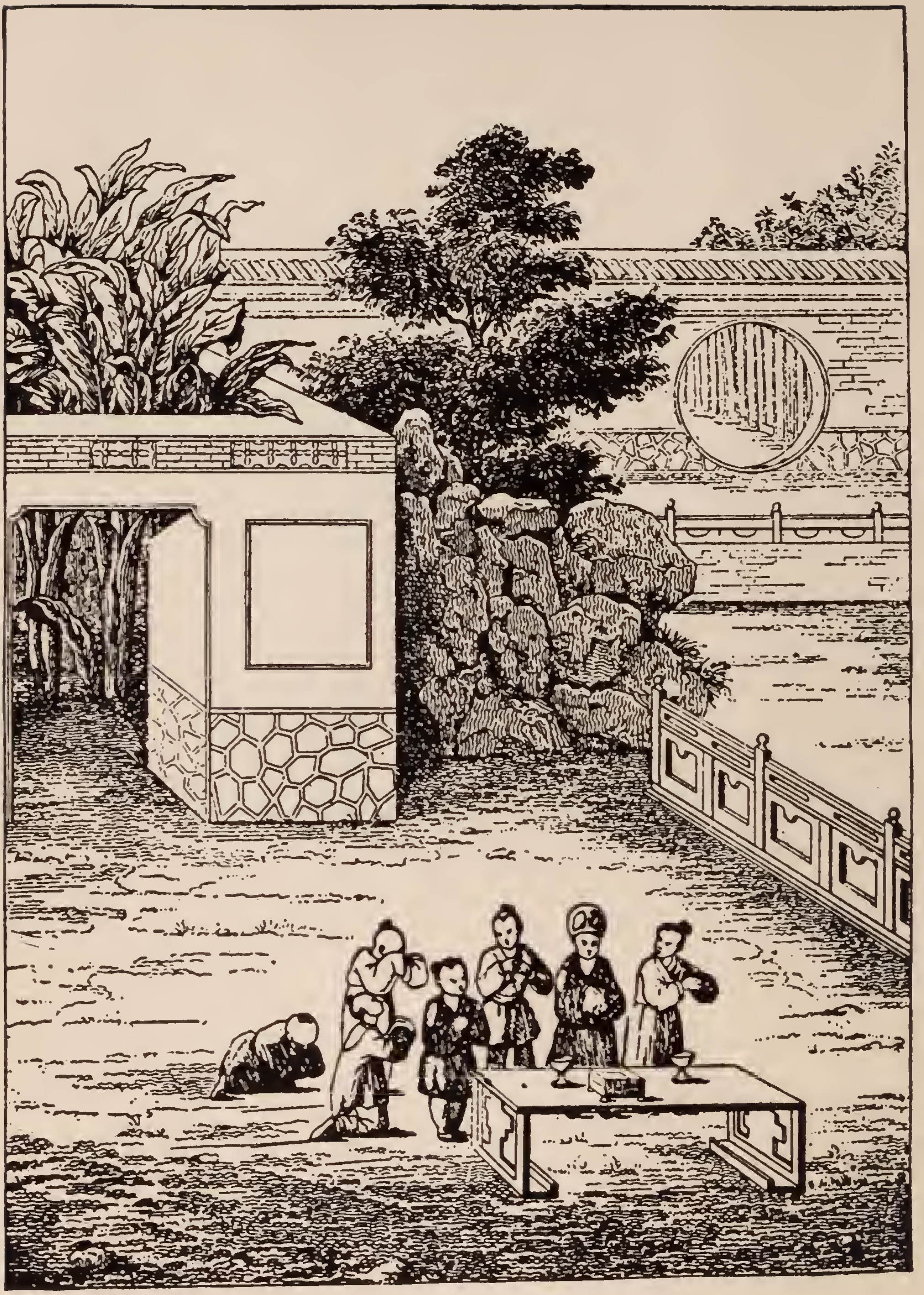

THE BOY CONFUCIUS

AN OUTLINE HISTORY
OF
CHINA

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BY
HERBERT H. GOWEN, D.D., F.R.G.S.
Professor of Oriental History at the University
of Washington

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

In view of the kindly reception the first edition of this work has had at the hands of the public, it is hoped that this new and revised edition may establish itself further in favor. It is still quite necessary to emphasize the fact that the book is neither a complete history of China nor a selection of episodes chosen according to the writer's own taste. The bulk of the book might all too easily have been increased, but, in that event, the idea of writing a brief, fairly-proportioned sketch would have remained unfulfilled. One or two critics have complained of the prominence of the military episodes. The only excuse that can be made is that Chinese history is (in spite of the generally unmilitary character of the people) unfortunately very full of campaigns which cannot be left altogether unchronicled if a true picture is to be presented. Yet the *Kulturgeschichte* has been by no means neglected. The philosophers and *literati* undoubtedly contributed much to Chinese history and their place in the narrative has been assigned wherever possible. Nevertheless, the framework of the story must necessarily be political and the effect of such a work as the present would have been invertebrate had not the dynastic changes been carefully marked. The author believes that those who will take the trouble to make this general outline their own will find pointed out in the bibliography appended ample material for filling up the gaps which have been deliberately left.

In this new edition every page has been carefully revised. A few errors have been corrected, the spelling of the names systematized and the narrative has been, as far as possible, brought down to date. For this latter part of the task the author acknowledges his indebtedness to his son, Mr. Vincent H. Gowen, of S. Paul's High School, Anking.

PREFACE

The writer claims for this little book nothing more than its title implies. It is, in the strictest sense of the word, an *outline* sketch of the successive periods of Chinese history which, it is hoped, the student will fill in from a wider reading. Some of this is suggested in an Appendix. The excuse for presenting it to a public already deluged with works on China consists in two facts. The first is the importance of the subject. If in Juvenal's time there were those who were interested in knowing

> "Quid Seres, quid Thraces agant,"

much more is it the case to-day. "China's New Day" makes it more than ever necessary to know something of her wonderful past, since it is out of that past that the present has, in the main, sprung.

Secondly, the early history of China has been seriously neglected by English and American writers. Chinese history has almost invariably been treated from the point of view of Foreign Relations, with the result that a few pages have sufficed for the four millenniums prior to the Manchu occupation, while hundreds of pages have been used to discuss (from a foreign point of view) the events of the past few decades. The consequence is that, to the best of the writer's knowledge, there is no work in English giving the student such a sketch of pre-Manchu times as will enable him to grasp the singular continuity of Chinese political and social life. It is too much for the writer to suppose that he has completely filled the gap, but it is hoped that he has made some such contribution as will bring home to many in our schools and colleges some part of the interest which lies behind the veil. It is impossible here to mention all the sources to which this book is indebted. Most of them will appear from the notes and from the attached bibliography. Special acknowledgment, however, should be made to the writings of Professor Hirth of Columbia, G. Pauthier, Abel Rémusat, Chavannes, Legge, Williams, Giles, Mayers, Pott, Douglas and D. C. Boulger.

CONTENTS

PART I

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE MANCHU CONQUEST, A. D. 1644

CHAPTER PAGE
I INTRODUCTORY 1
II PRELIMINARIES 8
III "IN THE BEGINNING" 17
IV THE FIVE RULERS 24
V THE HSIA DYNASTY 32
VI THE SHANG DYNASTY 36
VII THE CHOU DYNASTY 42
VIII THE CHOU DYNASTY (CONCLUDED) . . . 55
IX THE CH'IN DYNASTY 73
X THE HAN DYNASTY 83
XI FOUR CENTURIES OF ANARCHY . . . 99
XII THE T'ANG DYNASTY 109
XIII THE FIVE LITTLE DYNASTIES 125
XIV THE SUNG DYNASTY 129
XV THE YÜAN OR MONGOL DYNASTY . . 143
XVI THE MING DYNASTY 155

PART II

FROM THE MANCHU CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT DAY

XVII INTRODUCTORY 173
XVIII THE REIGN OF SHUN CHIH 182
XIX THE REIGN OF K'ANG HSI 198
XX THE REIGN OF YUNG CHÊNG 214
XXI THE REIGN OF CH'IEN LUNG 223

CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE
XXII THE REIGN OF CHIA CH'ING 240
XXIII THE REIGN OF TAO KUANG 255
XXIV THE T'AIPING REBELLION 273
XXV THE REIGN OF HSIEN FÊNG 283
XXVI THE REIGN OF T'UNG CHIH 291
XXVII THE REIGN OF KWANG HSÜ 305
XXVIII THE EMPRESS DOWAGER'S THIRD REGENCY 323
XXIX THE REVOLUTION 337
XXX THE CHINESE REPUBLIC 347
XXXI THE PRESIDENCY OF YÜAN SHIH-KAI 360
APPENDIX A 377
APPENDIX B 386
INDEX 391

ILLUSTRATIONS

The Boy Confucius . . . . *Frontis.*

FACING PAGE

Fu Hsi 26

Lao Tzŭ 58

Kublai Khan Going to Battle 148

Tien Ming 174

The Eleuths Pay Homage to Ch'ien lung . 226

Peking (from an Old Print) 292

Yüan Shih-kai 342

PART I

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE MANCHU CONQUEST

A. D. 1644

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

A certain soldier, says a tale of the T'ang dynasty, was in the habit of taking his potations beneath the branches of a spreading tree. One day he fell asleep and dreamed that fairies came to him and carried him away to the country of their king. Here he was royally received, taken from one scene of regal splendor to another, and at length appointed by the king governor of a country where he lived for many years. However, when the dreamer roused himself from sleep he found all these experiences had taken but a moment of time. In making the effort to compress within a few pages the complex record of the more than four millenniums of Chinese history, it is impossible not to envy the above-mentioned soldier his magic potion. How otherwise can we, within our inevitable limitations, grasp the significance of the age-long story?

Is it not strange, in these days when the lines of demarcation between continents and peoples are being abolished as never since the days when Alexander the Great made Europe and Asia one, that so far as the science of history goes, the average student limits his knowledge of the past to the classical story of Greece and Rome and to the comparatively recent annals of Europe and America?

Is it not strange that that long unbroken highway of human life which stretches right back without a chasm from our own time to the ages of fable and myth, the continuous tale to which the most ancient annals of Greece and Rome seem modern by the contrast, the history which has its surprises such as bear witness to the vitality of youth in the present, should be to so large an extent an untrodden road by the ordinary student in our schools and universities?

The excuse of inaccessibility and remoteness will no longer hold for those who have treated a great volume of the deepest human interest as though it were a book sealed with seven seals.

Indeed, we are disposed to ask whether such an excuse could ever have applied, except during the narrow century or two when the Ottoman conquests interposed an unnatural barrier across the road to Cathay, which proved more difficult to surmount than the desert and the seas. The nations of olden times were nowise disposed to despise knowledge of the people and arts of Serica. Victorious Greek art followed easily along the open road made by the military genius of Alexander right to the very bounds of the Eastern waste. The banners of the Cæsars encountered the banners of the great Han generals on the very shores of the Caspian, marking one frontier between the Atlantic and the Yellow Sea. Traders went with comparative ease, bearing silk and iron, to the Roman markets, along the great routes which have been re-opened with difficulty by some of our modern travelers. Every religion known to Western Asia, Buddhist, Magian, Christian, Manichean, Muhamadan, found in the old Chinese capitals a refuge and frequently a welcome. Not even the great Mongol conquests, which annihilated whole nations and sowed the sites of populous cities with salt, blocked the routes. Franciscans like Carpini and de Rubruk made their way to the camps of the great Khan, and the Polos were not alone as travelers to dare the perils of the way to Cambaluc. One would think that the fascinating record of the great Venetian would by itself have sufficed to drive the enchanted reader from page to page of the wonderful story in which Marco played a part for some twenty-four years.

Even when the Turks succeeded in blocking for Europe the three land routes along which missionaries, merchants and soldiers had marched from time immemorial, the glamour of Cathay remained. The new era of geographical research which was at this time inaugurated had the re-discovery of China as its objective point. To this end toiled and meditated that noble ascetic of science, Prince Henry of Portugal, from his lonely Pharos sending out expedition after expedition to find the limits of the African coast. To this end Diaz rounded the Cape of Storms, Vasco da Gama made a theme for the Lusiads, and Magellan sailed round the Horn into the Pacific. To this end Columbus started on the journey which led to the discovery of America, and all the great English seamen strove for the victory, east or west, north-east or north-west, over the obstacles which lay between themselves and the golden lands of the far eastern seas.

Surely now that the goal has again been reached and the way thither made familiar to the feet of man, after all the labors of seamen and merchants, after all the martyrdoms of missionaries and explorers, after all the battles of diplomacy and of arms, we must not be content to know only the China of the treaty ports, or to know it only as a land upon which some stronger nation enforces an occasional claim at the cannon's mouth, or as one from the exploitation of which the commerce of Europe and America multiplies its gain.

What of China for her own sake?

What of her *Art?* — that wonderful art unveiled so recently in the Cave of the Thousand Buddhas, the art that assimilated so much of what was best in Greece, and India, and Persia, and became the teacher of Korea and Japan.

What of her *Literature?* — the Poetry, the Drama, the Novels, the Philosophy, above all the History, vast beyond human power to compute in quantity, and not without its quality, though written down in a language which to the Western world seems clumsy and uncouth.

What of her *Government?* — the wonderful instrument, so stable and enduring beyond the power of revolutions to shock or shake, yet changing with the changing times, running the whole gamut of experiment, democratic at heart and most daring in its trust of the people, yet ever imperialistic in foreign policy, a government which, as an authority has said, seems to have as its fundamental principle of administration, "a sort of mutual toleration between nominal rulers and ruled, supported chiefly by that all-pervading factor, *vis inertiæ*," a Government finally, which is now manifesting itself in the New Republic which faces the stress and storm of international life.

Lastly, but by no means least, what of its *People?* What of that marvelous people which had already fashioned a polity through the experience of generations, if we may trust the ancient traditions, when Hammurabi was making laws for the infant state of Babylon; which was producing its greatest literature when Romulus and Remus were founding the city of Rome; which was sending forth learned monks to collect the literary treasures of India when Picts and Britons were fighting for mastery and Saxon pirates were harrying the coasts which Rome had left unguarded; which was receiving Christian missionaries from Persia and Syria at the very time when Ethelbert and his fellow princes were listening to the news brought by Augustine and Paulinus; which was making the most advanced experiments in socialism when the Norman William was asserting his claim to the throne of Harold; the people whose latest dynasty was well-nigh a century and a half old when the American Republic was born?

What of China's individual men and women? — the heroes in war, if unwilling warriors, martyrs to unflinching loyalty, examples of filial piety, Confucian moralists, Taoist mystics, and Buddhist pilgrims, statesmen, philosophers, and political economists. What of the one hundred volumes of the biographies of famous worthies, of the twenty volumes of the illustrious names of the Manchu era, of even those twenty-five hundred enrolled in the pages of Giles' "Biographical Dictionary"?

Is all this solely for the delectation of Sinologists and antiquaries? Young men and women of America may find here surely material not without its use in the cosmopolitan life of to-day. Dr. Stein tells us he found a wooden hammer made for the purpose of pitching tents a century or two before the Christian era, which proved so useful that he could not resist allowing his men to use it for its original purpose for the rest of the journey. Even so the long buried past of China may be turned to good account in these modern days.

To know China and something of its four thousand years of continuous history is to have some touch with the world movements as old as Babylon and as young as the day's newspaper, to have a background on which the history of our own race and of our own land becomes all the more significant and prophetic.

With intelligence and with sympathy we can watch the new come forth from the chrysalis of the old and even as the most sincere lover of the modern needs to know the political and social conditions out of which the present springs, so must the interested observer of the fortunes of the New China learn that the Old China was by no means comatose or moribund but full of significance and latent power.

With intelligence and sympathy such as this, there will be no hesitation in using for the new China the words which Longfellow wrote for the encouragement of the new America.

"In spite of rock and tempest's roar,
In spite of false lights on the shore,

Sail on nor fear to breast the sea!
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,
Are all with thee,— are all with thee."

CHAPTER II

PRELIMINARIES

The Name — geographical features — the Eighteen Provinces — people — language.

Name. The name, China, is of somewhat uncertain origin. It is generally derived from that of the Kingdom of Ch'in, the state which produced the famous Ch'in dynasty (B. C. 249–210) under which the confederation of Chinese states was transformed into the Empire. The name, Tchina, was carried, it is said, by Malay traders, to India and other Western lands. It is quite in accord with Chinese custom to speak of the country after the dynastic name, as during the Han dynasty the Chinese described themselves "*Han tsz*"—"sons of Han," and during the T'ang period as "*T'ang jên*"—"Men of T'ang." But the word "*Tchina*," also occurs in the Hindu "*Code of Manu*," and the phrase, "those from the land of Sinim" in Isaiah 49: 12, has been generally thought to refer to China. Both these passages are, of course, much older than the Ch'in dynasty. In neither case, however, is the reference certain and in the former the probabilities are all the other way. Moreover, the state of Ch'in, which is much older than the dynasty of the name, may have easily transmitted its name through contiguous countries to the western nations.

In the classical writings of Europe (e.g. the works of Ptolemy and Ammianus Marcellinus) China is called *Serica*, its capital *Sera*, and its people *Seres*.[1] This is an allusion to the production, famous from very early times, of silk (Mongolian, *sirik;* Manchu, *sirghe*). The Mediæval name of Cathay (e.g. in Marco Polo) was applied by the peoples of Eastern Europe from their knowledge of the Khitans, a branch of the Tatar family which was only too well known in the 11th and 12th centuries. The name Cathay is still preserved in Russia.

In China itself the country, as we have seen, was frequently named after the reigning dynasty, as, for instance, during Han times "the land of Han." A very common name is that of "the Middle Kingdom," in which the adjective refers to the fact that in the olden times the Empire consisted of a series of concentric squares, the royal domain (i.e. the present province of Honan) in the center, and the realms of nobles, people, feudatory states, barbarians forming outer territories. This name, "*Chung Kuo*," since the proclamation of the Republic is being superseded by *Chung Hwa*, "central flower."

Other names in common use include *Tien-ha*—"under heaven," i.e. "everything beneath the sky," and *Sze-hai*—"the four seas" (copied by the Japanese in the name given to their own land *Shi-kai*).

The Country. The Chinese Realm includes the five great divisions, as follows: 1st, China proper (i.e. the Eighteen Provinces); 2nd, Manchuria; 3rd, Mongolia; 4th, Chinese Turkestan; 5th, Tibet. Until recently there were also included the island of Taiwan or Formosa, ceded to Japan in 1895, and the peninsula of Chosen, or Korea, formally annexed to Japan in 1910. Over much of the territories of Mongolia[2] and Manchuria the authority of China is at present extremely nominal, but in Tibet her suzerainty has in recent years been asserted with success. The student who would make himself at all familiar with the history of China is urged at the outset to spend a few hours over the best obtainable map.[3] It will assist the memory to understand the meaning of a few geographical terms which occur frequently in the names of places. The following will be found especially useful:

Peh, north, as in *Pe*-king (north capital).

Nan, south, as in *Nan*-king (south capital).

Tung, east, as in Shan-*tung* (east of the mountains).

Si, west, as in Shan-*si* (west of the mountains).

Shan, mountain, as in *Shan*-tung and *Shan*-si.

Hu, lake, as in *Hu*-peh and *Hu*-nan.

Ho, *Kiang* and *Chwan*, as in *Huang-ho*, *Yangtse Kiang* and *Szechwan*, are all names for rivers of different degrees of navigability.

China proper lies mainly in the basins of three great river systems flowing from west to east. These are the *Huang-ho*, or Yellow River, known as "China's Sorrow" on account of the terrible annual loss of life and property from the floods; the *Yangtse Kiang*, or Willow River, known in its upper reaches as the Kin-sha-kiang (River of the Golden Sands), the Tai-kiang (Great River), and the Chang-kiang (Long River); and the *Chu-kiang* (Pearl River), with its three branches of which the Si-kiang (West River) which enters the sea at Canton is the most important. A fourth river system in the southwest flows in a southerly direction and includes the important streams, the Salween, the Meikong, and the Sonka.

The names and situations of the Eighteen Provinces into which China is at present divided should be carefully learned before proceeding further. They may be taken in the following order:

1. In the North,	*Chih-li* ("Direct Rule") or Peh-Chih-li; *Shan-si* (West of the Mountains); *Shen-si* (Western frontier); *Kan-suh* ("Voluntary Reverence") a name made from combining the first syllables of two chief towns.
2. In the East,	*Shan-tung* (East of the Mountains); *Kiang-su* (from the first syllables of Kiang-ning and Su-chow); *Cheh-kiang* ("Crooked River"); *Fuh-kien* ("Happily Established").
3. In the South,	*Kwang-tung* ("Broad East"); *Kwang-si* ("Broad West").
4. In the West,	*Yun-nan* ("Cloudy South"); *Sze-chwan* ("Four Streams").

5. In the Center, *Ho-nan* (South of the River);
   Ngan-hwui (or An-hwui) from combination of the first syllables of Ngan-king and Hwui-chau);
   Kiang-si (West of the River);
   Hu-peh (North of the Lake, i.e. Tung-ting);
   Hu-nan (south of the Lake);
   Kwei-chau ("Noble Region").

For administrative purposes the Eighteen Provinces are arranged as *Eight Viceroyalties* and *Three Governorships.* The Viceroyalties are:—

1. *Chih-li*, with seat of Government at Tientsin;

2. *Min-che*, including the provinces of Che-kiang and Fuhkien;

3. *Hu-kwang*, the provinces of Hu-peh and Hu-nan;

4. *Yun-kwei*, the provinces of Yun-nan and Kwei-chau;

5. *Szechwan;*

6. *The Two Kiang*, Kiang-si and Kiang-ngan (i.e. Kiang-su and Ngan-hwui);

7. *Shen-kan*, the provinces of Shen-si and Kan-suh;

8. *The Two Kwang*, the provinces of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si.

The Governorships are those of Shantung, Shansi and Honan. A province is ordinarily divided into a number of *hien*, or counties. Strictly speaking a *hien* consists of a walled city with its contiguous rural districts. Two or more *hien* are grouped as a *fu*, or first class city. Several *fu* make a *tao*, of which the chief official is the familiar *tao-tai*.

THE PEOPLE. The people of China are of Mongolian stock, but in the course of ages have undergone considerable racial change. Tibetans, Manchus, Tatars,[4] Japanese, Shans, etc., have all, according to the most recent authorities,[5] contributed to the prevailing Chinese type.

From very early times the Chinese have been in contact (and very often also in conflict) with a large number of tribes whom we may describe as aboriginal. In the earliest annals of China we read of wars against the *Man* in the south, the *Yi* in the east, the *Tih* in the north, and the *Jung* in the west. To-day, especially in the southwest, many of the aboriginal tribes remain, known as Lolos, Miaotsz, etc.

The *population* of China is unknown with any approach to exactitude. Estimates run all the way from 270 millions to 420 millions.[6] In any case it is the most populous of modern states. Professor

Giles says that "if the Chinese people were to file one by one past a given point, the interesting procession would never come to an end. Before the last man of those living to-day had gone by, another and a new generation would have grown up, and so on for ever and ever."

The *language*[7] of the people, while capable of being expressed in one common written form, the *Wên-li*, has in speech great dialectical variety. The dialects, of which there are said to be as many as three hundred and sixty, are in some cases so unlike as to constitute practically separate languages. Of these the Cantonese, in all probability, comes nearest to the primitive Chinese, while Pekingese (frequently miscalled Mandarin) has suffered the most from phonetic decay. The latter, however, has most present-day importance as the language of diplomacy and official life.

The *social* life of the Chinese may be studied in detail in a large number of reliable and interesting works.[8]

NOTES

1. For the classical allusions to China the student should consult "Textes d'auteurs Grecs et Latins" relatifs à l'extrême-orient depuis le IV^{me} siècle avant J. C. jusq'au XIV^{me} siècle, par Georges Coedès." (Ernest Leroux, Editeur).

2. Immediately after the Revolution (1911) Mongolia asserted its independence and elected an ecclesiastical ruler.

3. In addition to studying the map the student may read with profit Dr. S. Wells Williams' "The Middle Kingdom," I 1–257; Capt. Brinkley's "China," I 1-36. For special portions there are numerous travel books, e. g. Mr. A. Little's "Through the Yang-tsze Gorges." The Travels of the Abbé Huc are in all respects delightful.

4. "Tatar," not "Tartar." The latter spelling is due to the historic pun of S. Louis of France, who wished to consign the disturbers of the world's peace to Tartarus. His reply to his mother, Blanche of Castile, was as follows: "Mère, si les Tatars arrivent nous les ferons retourner au Tartare d'où ils viennent." (Pauthier.)

5. See Prof. Hirth in *Ency. Brit.* (11th Ed.) Art. *China.*

6. The most recent review of census operations in China is contained in a paper by W. W. Rockhill. See *Royal Geographical Society's Journal,* July, 1912, p. 69. Mr. Rockhill's estimate is 329,617,750, which includes 2,000,000 for Tibet and 1,800,000 for Mongolia.

7. A good popular account of the language is given

by Sir R. K. Douglas, " The Language and Literature of China " (1875). An interesting analysis of the ideographs is contained in Frank H. Chalfant's " Early Chinese Writing " (1906).

8. Perhaps the best of these is the Rev. A. H. Smith's " Village Life in China."

CHAPTER III

"IN THE BEGINNING"

Origins — P'an Ku — the Three August Periods — the ten periods of Ascent.

Origins. The subject of Chinese origins is, to say the least, a thorny one, and the discussion of it in any detail would take us out of the uncertain mists of legend into the yet more uncertain mists of theory and conjecture. Some maintain that the Chinese entered their present abode from the northwest; others that, so far as anything shows to the contrary, they have occupied their present abodes from time immemorial. The latest authority on the subject writes: "Whether the Chinese were seated in their later homes from time immemorial, as their own historians assume, or whether they arrived there from abroad, as some foreign scholars have pretended, cannot be proved to the satisfaction of historical critics. Indeed, anthropological arguments seem to contradict the idea of any connection with Babylonians, Egyptians, Assyrians or Indians."[1] Nevertheless, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in the great shifting of peoples caused by the influx of Semitic tribes into the Euphrates Valley about B. C. 4000, the Turanian civilization, known as Sumerian, may have so far pushed eastwards as to have influenced the peopling of the present northwest provinces of China. It is quite possible to conceive of the arrival there of whole populations who had acquired the old civilization, or of the transmission of the elements of Sumerian culture through individual fugitives. At any rate, the distinguishing traits of the Chinese, their industry, their agricultural skill, their arts, methods of divination, primitive ideographs, and general peace-loving disposition are not unlike traits which reveal themselves among the pre-Semitic dwellers in the Euphrates Valley. A careful analysis of the oldest ideograms reveals that the matriarchate prevailed,[2] that divination by means of the tortoise shell was in common use, that the male child was valued for his capacity for field work, that the north was regarded as the land upon which they had turned their backs, the south the jungle inhabited by wild beasts, while the east appeared to them as a forest through which the rising sun cast its rays. Many signs suggest a pastoral stage. The radical for "*sheep*" (yang) appears in the word "beautiful" which is literally "big sheep"; "righteousness" is "sheep" and the first personal pronoun; "to judge rightly" is literally "to talk sheep." The symbol for "house," preserved in so many of the modern characters, perpetuates the sloping roof of the old Central Asian tent with the turned up edges still to be seen in pagodas and temples. The pastoral stage must have passed quickly, so far as the Chinese proper are concerned, for the occupation is one for which the Chinese of many generations have had a distinct aversion.

In any attempt that we make to reproduce in imagination the China of old time it must be remembered that it included but a small portion of the present eighteen provinces. The earliest China probably extended little beyond the present provinces of Shansi, Shensi and Kansuh. It was not until the time of the Ch'in Dynasty (B. C. 250) that the whole of the present China came under one government.

P'AN KU. The legendary history of China extends over many millions of years. In the chronicles of the Han Dynasty it is said that "from the creation to the capture of the *lin* in the days of Confucius (B. C. 481) a period elapsed of 2,267,000 and odd years." Of course, as Mayers remarks, "no actual weight is attached even by Chinese writers to the statements handed down by the fabulists of antiquity regarding prehistoric epochs and dynastic lines." From the time of the first man, *P'an Ku*, who corresponds more or less with the Indian Manu and the Persian Yima, some have reckoned as many as ninety-six millions of years. P'an Ku separated heaven and earth, as was done in the Egyptian story of Nut and Keb. A philosopher of the 11th Century describes him thus: "P'an Ku came into being in the great Waste; his beginning is unknown. He understood the ways of Heaven and Earth and comprehended the permutations of the two principles of Nature. He became the Chief and Prince of the Three Powers. Hereupon development began from Chaos." Dr. Williams says: "They (the Chinese artists) picture him holding a chisel and mallet in his hands, splitting and fashioning vast masses of granite floating confusedly in space. Behind the openings his powerful hand has made are seen the sun, moon and stars, monuments of his stupendous labors; at his right hand, inseparable companions of his toils, but whose generation is left in obscurity, stand the dragon, the phœnix and the tortoise, and sometimes the unicorn, divine types and progenitors with himself of the animal creation. His efforts were continued eighteen thousand years, and by small degrees he and his work increased; the heavens rose, the earth spread out and thickened, and P'an Ku grew in stature, six feet away every day, till, his labors done, he died for the benefit of his handiwork. His head became mountains, his breath wind and clouds, and his voice thunder; his limbs were changed into four poles, his veins into rivers, his sinews into the undulations of the earth's surface, and his flesh into fields; his beard, like Berenice's hair, was turned into stars, his skin and hair into herbs and trees, and his teeth, bones and marrow into metals, rocks and precious stones; his dropping sweat increased to rain, and, lastly, the insects which stuck to his body were transformed into people." [3]

The Three August Periods. After P'an Ku follow three periods which may be described as follows:

1. *The Reign of Heaven*, during which the heavens were actually formed.

2. *The Reign of Earth*, during which the earth received its shape.

3. *The Reign of Man*, during which men and other terrestrial beings took their proper place in the universe.

In the *first* of these periods *twelve* brothers reigned as the Tien Wang or Heaven Kings, each for a period of 18,000 years, a monstrous brood with the body of serpents.

In the *second* period reigned the *eleven* brothers, known as the Ti Wang, or Earth Kings, who discovered the division of day and night, and the division of the year into months of thirty days. These too were a monstrous progeny made up of the *membra disjecta* of dragons, serpents, horses and human beings.[4]

In the *third* period reigned the *nine* Jên Wang, or Man Kings, with faces of men and bodies of dragons or serpents. They divided the world into nine empires, one for each of the monstrous brothers.

The Ten Periods of Ascent. Ten periods follow, or nine, if we regard the whole of the preceding epoch as making up the first, during which human civilization is seen on the ascent. We see men gradually ceasing to live in caves of the rocks, or nests of the trees. We see them learning to clothe themselves in the skins of beasts. We have culture myths, moreover, like that of the Chinese Prometheus, *Sui Jên*, who discovered the means of producing fire, by watching a bird pecking at the dry branch of a tree. The invention of cooking followed, possibly in a way not unlike that described by Charles Lamb in his famous essay on roast pig.[5] Then came other arts of life, including that of dancing which, we are told, came into vogue not as an amusement but as a hygienic exercise. It is perhaps permissible to regard this statement as an afterthought on the part of some austere philosopher or moralist. There was learned withal the principle which has had such continuous illustration throughout all Chinese history, namely, "the virtue of handing over the throne to a successor, which stands in relation with the principles of heaven."

NOTES

1. *Encyclopedia Brit.* (11th Ed.) Art. *China.*

2. Cf. also description of Fu Hsi: "Before his time the people were like unto beasts, clothing themselves in skins, and feeding themselves on raw flesh, *knowing their mothers but not their fathers.*" (Mayers, "Chinese Readers' Manual," p. 48.)

3. S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom," II 139.

4. It is at this time, the legends say, that the arts of eating, drinking and sleeping were invented!

5. Charles Lamb obtained the story from his friend, the Chinese scholar, Thomas Manning.

CHAPTER IV

THE FIVE RULERS

The Five Rulers — Fu Hsi — Shên Nung — Huang Ti — Yao and Shun, the Model Emperors.

The Five Rulers. The so-called period of the Five Rulers may be regarded as marking the transition from the legendary to the historical period. There are, however, several dissimilar systems of chronology for it. Some Chinese authorities reckon from the age of the Nest Builders, others from various others of those legendary divisions of time which have just been mentioned. The best method of reckoning, in all probability, is to start from the culture hero, *Fu Hsi*, and to make up the five by the inclusion of Fu Hsi's two semi-mythical successors, Shên Nung and Huang Ti, and the two Emperors *par excellence* of the Shu King, Yao and Shun.

Fu Hsi. The greatest of all the traditional benefactors of the legendary era of Chinese history is Fu Hsi, who by many is reckoned as a genuine historical character. Definite statements are made about him, although definiteness of statement is by no means invariably a proof of historicity. He is said to have been born, miraculously, near Singanfu, the ancient capital of China, and in the same neighborhood, in the province of Shensi, his grave is still pointed out and reverenced. His date is also given definitely enough as B. C. 2852. Yet the Chinese accounts describe him as possessing a body which terminated in the scaly folds of a serpent, and as having six dragons (the predecessors of the Six Governing Boards) as his counselors. He is represented in art with the horny protuberances which in the case of Oriental law-givers generally (even in the case of Moses, according to Michelangelo) are regarded as the symbols of intellectual power. Among the many useful inventions ascribed to Fu Hsi by a grateful posterity, are the following:

1. *Marriage*, together with the ceremonies with which marriage was contracted.

2. *Musical Instruments*, especially the thirty-five stringed lute.

3. *The Eight Trigrams*,[1] and arrangement of the whole and the broken line in a series of eight permutations, each the symbol of some element in nature, on which was based in later times the whole complex system of Chinese divination as contained in the Yi King.

4. *Writing*, the use of ideograms instead of the more primitive system of knot notation, known in ancient Peru as *quipu*. This invention is, however, ascribed also to Sui Jên and to several others.

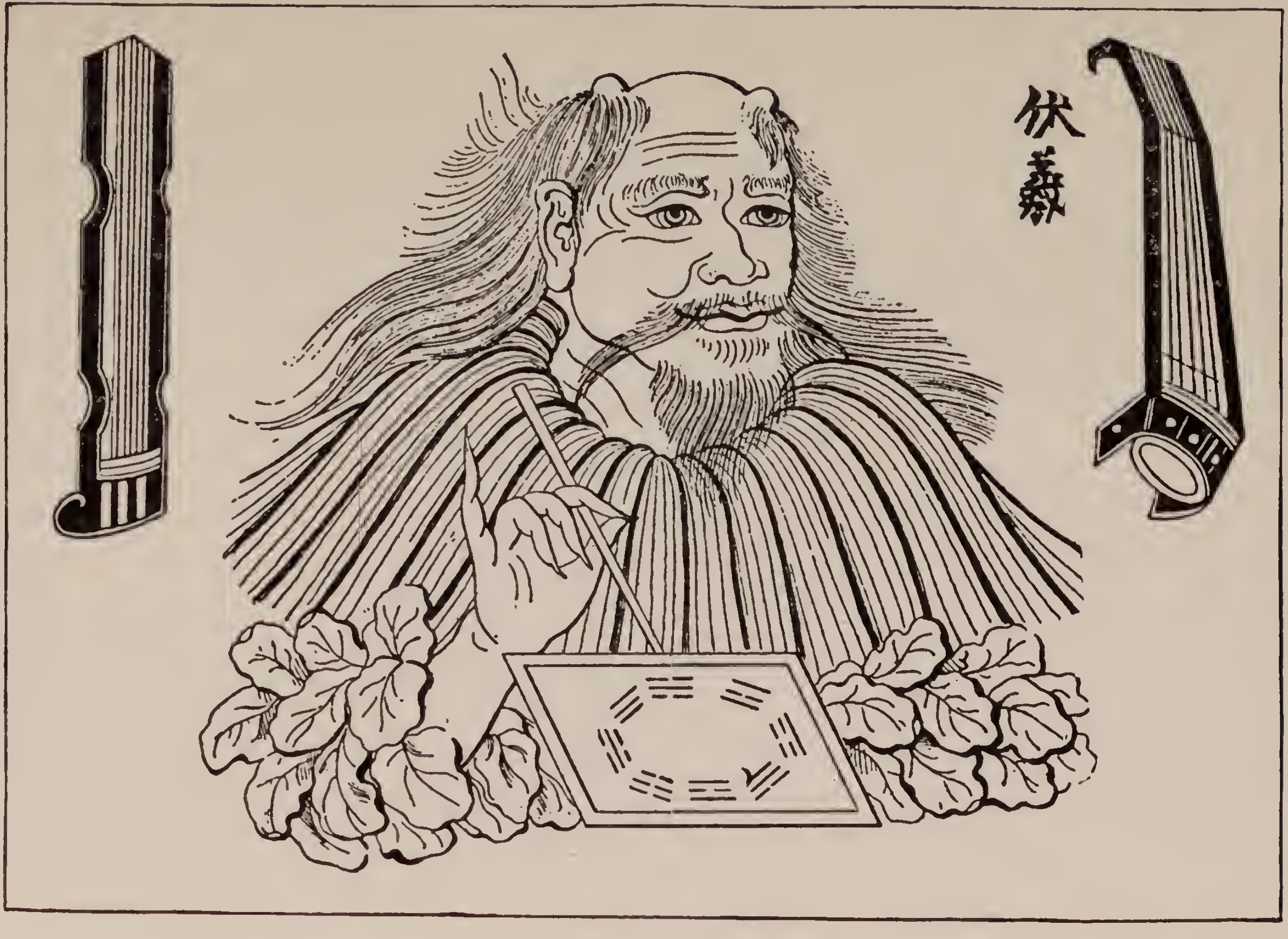
5. The use of the *Six Domestic Animals*, namely, the horse, the dog, the ox, the sheep, the pig and the fowl.

6. The use of the *Mulberry Leaf* for the feeding of silk worms.

To Fu Hsi are also ascribed the weaving of nets and snares for the catching of fish, the worship of the Supreme Being, whom they called *Shang Ti*,[2] and whatever of other fruits or indications of civilization there were for which the Chinese desired to claim a very remote past.

Shên Nung. B. C. 2737–2705. The successor of Fu Hsi, who selected him when dying, was *Shên Nung*, generally known as the "Divine Husbandman." He is depicted with the body of a man and the head of an ox, doubtless in allusion to his interest in agriculture. It is related that he was the son of a princess, and was miraculously born near the river Kiang. "He first fashioned timber into plows, and taught the people the art of husbandry. He discovered the curative virtues of plants, and instituted the practice of holding markets for the exchange of commodities." Moreover he contests with Fu Hsi interest in the development of music, as the traditional inventor of the K'in, or five stringed lute.

Huang Ti. B. C. 2704–2595. *Huang Ti*, the "Yellow Emperor," succeeded Shên Nung, according to one story, by usurpation. He is said to have introduced the use of wheeled vehicles and to have invented ships, armor and pottery. In his reign a manifestation was vouchsafed of the two fabulous beasts, the Griffin and the Kilin, a highly valued indication of Heaven's pleasure in a wise and benevolent rule. The limits of China are said to have been extended during this reign eastwards to Shantung and southward to the Yangtse Kiang valley. Huang Ti died at the age of 111 years. The Chinese historian, Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien,[3] known as the "Herodotus of China," commences his history at this point. Some modern writers, without very tangible evidence, have seen an introduction of foreign elements of



FU HSI

civilization into China about this time. The mention of the hostile Hun-yu, generally identified with the Hiung-nu, the ancestors of the Huns, suggests danger and pressure from the tribes to the north. Internally, some further advances are described, including the use of milfoil (*Achillea millefolium*) for purposes of divination.[4] The legendary minister, Tsang Kie, who is spoken of as the first state historian, is one of the many to whom has been assigned the invention of writing. From watching the impressions made by the footprints of birds he is said to have developed a system of ideographs which combined the use of the trigrams of Fu Hsi. His fellow minister, Tsu-sung, is reported to have achieved much the same result from studying the constellations in the heavens. An important place also in the traditions of this reign is occupied by the Emperor's wife, Liu Tsu, better known as "the Lady of Si-ling," whose skill in the management of silkworms endeared her to posterity. She was afterwards deified as Yuan-fi and is worshiped on a certain day in the 9th month. In the *Wei-ki* she is referred to in the following verse:

"Si Ling-shi, the Empress of Huang Ti, began to rear silkworms:
At the period Huang Ti invented the art of making clothing."

The immediate successors of Huang Ti need not be mentioned. Chinese history, but for names, is a blank till we come to the two "Model Emperors" of the Confucian Classics, Yao and Shun. With the description of these reigns, doubtless idealized by the *literati*, begins the record of the *Shu King* or "Book of History."

YAO. B. C. 2357–2258. Yao, who is said to have been born in the province of Honan and to have been the son of the Emperor Ti K'u, is described as being "gifted without being proud, and exalted without being insolent. He wore a yellow cap and a plain silk dress. He drove in a red car drawn by a white horse." Says the *Shu King*, "he united and transformed the myriad states; and so the black haired people [5] were transformed. The result was concord." His desire, during the long reign of ninety-eight (some make it only seventy) years, for the welfare of the people was shown by the placing of a tablet outside the palace on which any one might write advice with regard to the government. A drum near by enabled the man with a grievance to make known his desires to the king.[6] The most striking proof, however, of Yao's laudable desire to serve the people is afforded through the account given of the choice of Shun as his successor on the throne. For some years the ravages of a great flood, caused probably, as to-day, by the overflowing of the Huang-ho, had defied the utmost efforts of the Minister of Works, whose name was Kun. At length the monarch, grieved by the growing desolation of the realm, requested the people to name some one who would make himself master of the situation. They recommended "an unmarried man of the common people named Shun." Shun was found to be the son of a blind man; "his father was unprincipled, his mother insincere, and his younger brother arrogant." Yet, notwithstanding all these handicaps, he had been able to live with them in peace and had even brought about some improvement. Yao concluded to try him and the experiment was in every way successful. Everything that Shun attempted prospered. " At the end of the year the place where he lived became a village, in two years it became a town, and in three years a capital." Shun's association in the Empire was ratified; he was received by marriage into the royal family, and named by Yao as his heir. But though men looked forward with confident expectation to the reign of Shun, there was universal sorrow when the good King Yao was gathered to his fathers. " For three years," we are told, " no music was played anywhere."

Shun. B. C. 2258–2206. Shun who, as we have seen, was chosen by Yao for his good qualities, became sovereign in B. C. 2258 instead of Yao's worthless son, Tan Chu. He speedily justified the old Emperor's choice and the reputation he had already gained during the years of regency. His career, which is described in that section of the " Shu King " known as the " *Canon of Shun*," largely follows the outlines of the preceding reign. To the details already given of his earlier life we may add that he was born in Honan and that his own mother had died whilst he was still young. His father remarried and the boy had with his stepmother a " sad, sour time." Attempts were even made on his life, but he behaved with such exemplary patience that he attracted, as we have seen, the attention of Yao. For his conduct as a young man Shun has been enrolled among the twenty-four illustrious examples of filial piety. He labored incessantly to support those who abused him, fishing, making pottery and working in the fields. When he was plowing, the birds and beasts are said to have come of their own accord to weed his fields and help to draw the plow. On ascending the throne his virtues were equally evident, and loyal subjects helped to bear the burdens of the state. He regulated the Calendar, standardized weights and measures, and made mitigations of the punishments hitherto in vogue, altering the size of the whip which was used in the courts and the thickness of the birch rod which was employed for the chastisement of school boys. His choice of Yü to be his successor followed the precedent of Yao's selection of himself. The story of this early period may seem thus far to lack excitement, yet surely it is better to read these records of patriarchal regard for the welfare of a nation, and of the gradually accumulated fruits of culture, than the stories of rapine and bloodshed which fill so many pages of the early history of Greece and Rome. Shun put his own ideal of rulership in a poem which is included in the " Shu King." It runs as follows:

" When the members work joyfully
The head rises grandly;
And the duties of all the offices are fully discharged;
When the head is intelligent
The members are good,
And all affairs will be happily performed."

NOTES

1. The Eight Trigrams, with their signification, are as follows:

☰ Heaven; ☷ Earth; ☳ Thunder; ☶ Mountains;
☲ Fire; ☵ Water; ☱ Steam; ☴ Wind.

2. The most ancient of the names for the Supreme Being. Shên, the term sometimes used, especially by some of the early missionaries, denotes merely *a spirit* (cf. jinn). Tien Chu (Heaven Lord) was the term favored by the Roman Catholic missionaries, but is objected to by many on the ground that it was originally the name of one of eight Taoist deities introduced about B. C. 250.

3. Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien's "Historical Records" were written about B. C. 90 from materials collected by his father. A translation into French has recently been published by M. Chavannes.

4. The "Shu King" says: "Consult the tortoise shell and the divining stalks."

5. Li-ming, a common name for the Chinese. Cf. the similar appellation given to the ancient Babylonians, e.g. "Laws of Hammurabi," "Go forth like the sun over the Black Head Race."

6. Hirth attributes this to Shun, but Pauthier to Yao. Probably the plan was common to both reigns, answering to the modern so-called "Cymbals of Oppression."

CHAPTER V

THE HSIA DYNASTY

B. C. 2205–1766.

Yü — his successors — T'ai K'ang — Chung K'ang — the infamy of Chieh — the princess Mo Hsi — fall of the dynasty.

YÜ. The principality of Hsia had been bestowed upon Yü before the death of Shun, and the new King, immediately upon ascending the throne, made it the name of the new dynasty. Like his two predecessors, Yü was a "Model Emperor." "His voice was the standard of sounds, his body the standard of measures of length." He is said to have been a native of the province of Szechwan. His exploits, which are chronicled in that section of the "Shu King" known as the "*Tribute of Yü,*" redounded to the advantage of the whole country. He placed five sorts of instruments at his palace gates so that the people who sought his presence might acquaint him with the nature of their business. He divided the country into nine provinces and so arranged the Imperial domain that it formed the central square of a series of concentric territories. These were named respectively: 1, the royal domain; 2, the domain of the nobles; 3, the domain of peace; 4, the domain of restraint (for barbarians and exiles); 5, the wild domain. He was a great engineer and labored for nine years at the work of leading the waters of the Huang-ho back to their proper channel. During this time he was so absorbed that he took little note of food and clothing and even thrice passed the door of his own house without looking in, although he heard from within the wailing of his infant son. He "made cuttings through the nine mountains, formed the nine lakes, regulated the course of the nine rivers, fixed the limits of the nine provinces." "Among the most marvelous of the achievements ascribed to the handiwork of Yü," says Mayers, "is the opening of a passage for the western waters through the present defile of Wushan." His ideal is expressed in the saying which has been attributed to him, "I just think of working incessantly every day." Evidently his industry was appreciated, for the Chinese saying runs, "How grand was the achievement of Yü! How far reaching his glorious energy! But for Yü we should all have been fishes." Under this energetic and earnest monarch China prospered greatly and the dominion was extended westward to the "moving sand" (the desert of Gobi), whilst the Miao tribes of aborigines were subdued towards the south. In connection with the division of the land into the nine provinces the story may be mentioned that Yü made nine brazen vases or tripods upon the preservation of which depended the preservation of the dynasty. Another interesting legend associates Yü with the first discovery of wine. The first manufacture was due to a man named I Ti who took some to the daughter of the Emperor. She in turn brought it to Yü who tasted it and poured the rest upon the ground. He then ordered the discoverer to be banished from the country and forbade any further knowledge of the dangerous art.[1]

THE SUCCESSORS OF YÜ. Eighteen monarchs reigned during the period assigned to this dynasty. The era was, however, not without its vicissitudes. *T'ai K'ang*, who as the assistant of Yü, is said to have paced the whole land from east to west, offended the people by his gay mode of living and ruined their harvests by his hunting expeditions. He was dethroned in B. C. 2160. His successor, *Chung K'ang*, is best known through an eclipse which was chronicled in his reign and which the court astronomers had failed to predict. Modern astronomers have spent much labor, with no very satisfactory results, in endeavoring to fix the date of this event.[2] An interregnum [3] is reckoned from B. C. 2118 to 2079 and the dynasty gradually declined until the end came under the infamous *Chieh*. This tyrant, with the aid of his no less infamous consort, *Mo Hsi*, a slave who had been presented to him in B. C. 1786 by one of the conquered chiefs as a propitiatory offering, filled full the cup of abominations. Among other choice amusements of this Chinese Nero was the creation of a vast lake of wine in which he would compel his subjects, three thousand at a time, to plunge at the sound of a drum, whilst he and his queen and courtiers laughed with delight at their brutal intoxication. The downfall and death of the last of the Hsia Kings were brought about through a revolution headed by *Ch'êng T'ang*, the founder of the dynasty of Shang. The tyrant, Chieh, was captured and sent into banishment.

NOTES

1. The so-called "Tablet of Yü," consisting of 77 characters, on Mt. Hêng in Hunan, is a forgery going back to the 7th or 8th Century A. D.

2. It has been identified by Professor Russell of Peking and by Chalmers. The latter assigns it to October 11 B. C. 2155. It is the first recorded eclipse in Chinese history, which makes reference to 1000 solar and to 500 lunar eclipses.

3. During this interregnum we have the romantic story of the exiled Empress Min and her son who worked unknown for years as a shepherd on the hills. He was afterwards appointed cook to the Prince of Yü, whose two daughters he married. He subsequently became Emperor under the name of Shao K'ang.

CHAPTER VI

THE SHANG DYNASTY

B. C. 1766–1122.

T'ang, the Completer — Wu Ting — Lin Sin — Wu Yin — Chou Hsin — the "Heater" and the "Copper Pillar"— the revolt of Wên Wang — Ki Tzu and the conquest of Korea.

CH'ÊNG T'ANG. The founder of the dynasty of Shang, which later passes into the Yin dynasty, is another favorite of the Confucian historians. He had, we are told, graven upon his bath the words, thrice repeated, "Renew thyself every day." He was careful in all his hunting expeditions to diminish in all possible ways the sufferings of the victims such as were necessitated by the royal sport. His especial title to fame is, however, in his offer to yield himself as a sacrifice in order to bring to an end a severe seven years' famine which had reduced the country to great extremities of distress. Putting on the symbols of mourning, he mounted his car and drove to a certain designated spot at the foot of a mountain. Here he dismounted, prostrated himself to the earth and made confession of his own sins and of those of the people. Hardly had he finished his prayer when there came an abundant rain and the land speedily recovered its former fertility.[1] The credit for T'ang's successful reign must be shared with the famous minister, I Yin, who was, it is said, "almost what Shun had been to Yao, and Yao to Shun." A legend declares that he was found as an infant in a hollow mulberry tree, a story probably due to the name of his birthplace. His enemies said that he owed his elevation to his skill in cooking, through which he maintained his influence over his royal master. But, cook or no cook, he remained a trusted councilor until his death in B. C. 1713.

DECLINE OF THE DYNASTY. As in the case of the Hsia dynasty, vicious kings soon dimmed the glory of the dynasty which had been won by T'ang, the Completer, and ruined the results painfully achieved. *Wu Ting* tried his best to stay the plague of wickedness by going back to the people for his chief official, choosing as minister a poor artisan whom, under divine inspiration, he had beheld in a dream. *Lin Sin* (B. C. 1225–1219) put all responsibility on his ministers and refused frankly to be bothered with any of the duties or cares of government. *Wu Yih* (B. C. 1198–1194) openly defied the gods and blasphemed the spirit of Heaven. "He played chess with it and told a man to make its moves. When the spirit of Heaven lost, he derided and insulted it; and making for it a leathern bag, he filled it with blood, hung it up in the air, and shot arrows at it." Poetic justice, in this case, came with no halting foot, and the blasphemous libertine was struck by lightning and died.[2]

CHOU HSIN. B. C. 1154–1123. The climax of evil came with the reign of Chou Hsin, or Shu, whose career of infamy runs in many respects parallel with that of Chieh. The list of his enormities is summed up in the "Great Declaration" of the *Shu King.* The good advice of the faithful minister and relative, *Pi Kan,* he requited with the brutal order addressed to his minions to take out the heart of the courageous councilor. "I have heard," said he, "that a man's heart has seven openings; I would fain make the experiment upon Pi Kan." The palace and the pleasure grounds, known as Luh T'ai or Deer Tower, were the unhallowed scenes of nameless orgies. To these he was stimulated and encouraged by his mistress, *T'a Chi,* one of the most sinister names in the history of China. This lady, who was a daughter of the chief of Su and a prize of war, distinguished herself by the invention of sundry ingenious instruments of torture. Among these were the "*Heater*" and the "*Copper Pillar.*" The latter was a metal column, well greased, which was laid over a pit of burning charcoal. The unhappy victims of the royal caprice or mirth were pressingly invited to walk across this fatal bridge, with a result which was as pleasurable to the royal libertines as it was disastrous to themselves.

THE REVOLT OF WÊN WANG. At length the cruelties of Chou Hsin exhausted the patience of the princes and the people. A revolt broke out headed by Ch'ang, Duke of Chou, known also as Si Peh, "the Chief of the West," and better still by the name given to him on canonization, *Wên Wang.* To the assembled troops he gave the following singular advice: "In to-day's business do not take more than six or seven steps, then stop and dress your ranks. Heroes, exert yourselves! Do not exceed four, five, six or seven strokes, then stop and dress your ranks.

Exert yourselves, heroes! Put on a terrible look! Be like tigers, bears, wolves, and dragons in the neighborhood of Sheng." The tyrant in desperate straits showed some last flicker of courage but his army was put to flight in the battle of "the ford of Meng." Chou Hsin decked himself in all his jewels, mounted the marble tower he had built for his mistress in the notorious pleasure gardens of Luh T'ai and there, like another Zimri or Sardanapalus, set fire to the palace and cast himself alive into the flames. In this way Chou Hsin put an end at once to his own not very valuable existence and to the dynasty which had begun so gloriously. The favorite, T'a Chi, who had had so large a share in precipitating the disaster, was captured and beheaded. It is said that so great was the influence of the personal charm of this Chinese Circe to the very last that no one could be found to deal the fatal stroke, until the aged councilor of Wu Wang, whose name was T'ai Kung, stepped forward and, covering up his face, made himself the avenger of a nation's wrongs. The accumulated treasures of the "Deer Tower" gardens were distributed by the conqueror to the people from whose spoliation they had been acquired.[4]

KI TZU. Ki Tzu, one of the vainly protesting ministers of the defeated Chou Hsin, deserves to be mentioned, if not as the author of one of the most important sections of the "Shu King," as the real founder of the civilization of Korea. He was, like Pi Kan, alied to the Emperor by blood, but, with his two fellow ministers, Pi Kan and Wei Tzu, was imprisoned by his fatuous kinsman when he refused to remain silent with regard to the fatal folly which was threatening the fall of the dynasty. The two fellow-prisoners perished, but Ki Tzu was released from prison on the accession of the first Chou sovereign. He was promised rank and office under the new dynasty, but his sturdy loyalty to his first allegiance prevailed and he preferred expatriation. Korea was the land to which he turned. The legendary history of this country goes back as far as B. C. 2333, to the time when the Son of the Creator of Heaven came down to a mountain in the province of Phyong An. Here he assumed the name of Tan Gun and reigned on earth a thousand years. But it is Ki Tzu's migration to Korea and his conquest of the land, to which he gave the name of Cho-sen, "Land of the Morning Calm," which marks the real beginning of Korean history. It is believed that he came by sea, landed somewhere south of the Han river, and brought with him all the arts of civilization. He died B. C. 1083 and the dynasty he founded had the good fortune to survive until B. C. 193.

NOTES

1. T'ang degraded the tutelary spirit of the former dynasty, which he held responsible for the drought.

2. Wu Yih is regarded as having made the first idols in China. He introduced them, it is said, to show his contempt for religion.

3. Chou Hsin was the first to use ivory chop-sticks. It was one of the marks of luxury to which the downfall of his line was ascribed.

4. T'a Chi is often spoken of as the incarnation of a she-wolf. The superstition as to possession by animals, such as the wolf, badger and fox, has been common in all periods of Chinese and Japanese history.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHOU DYNASTY

B. C. 1122–249

I. FROM WU WANG TO THE FIVE LEADERS

General character of the dynasty — Wên Wang — Chou Kung — the Chou Li — Ch'êng Wang and his successors — Mu Wang — Li Wang — Suang Wang — Yu Wang — P'ing Wang.

The Chou Dynasty. The dynasty of Chou is the longest lived of all the imperial lines in the history of China and includes the reigns of thirty-five sovereigns, aggregating a total of nearly nine centuries. The period as a whole reveals a gradual weakening of the central authority by reason of the increase of power in the vassal and confederate states. The number of these at one time was as many as a hundred and twenty-five and even in the time of Confucius there were fifty-two. Wars continued for the greater portion of the time, against the Huns on the northern frontier and against the aboriginal tribes south of the Yangtse Kiang. An important feature of the epoch is in the gradual enforcement of the (so-called) Confucian system under a series of able teachers, philosophers and administrators. These include such men as the sage, Confucius, himself, and his great disciple and interpreter, Mencius. Towards the end of the Chou dynasty there are some indications of reaction against this system through the pressure of forces such as were doubtless reinforced by the infusion of a strong Tatar element from the north. These forces indeed triumphed for a time in the overthrow of the Chous and the establishment of the Ch'in dynasty, but ultimately the foreign elements were themselves assimilated to the Confucian ideal.

WÊN WANG. B. C. 1231–1135. The real founder of this dynasty was the Ch'ang, Duke of Chou, of whom we have already spoken as heading the revolt against Chou Hsin. He had been hereditary prince of the principality of Ch'i and was thrown into prison by the tyrant as suspect and dangerous. In prison he utilized two years and attained fame as the author of a work on the Sixty-four Hexagrams which had been evolved from the Eight Trigrams of Fu Hsi. This treatise together with the additions made through the filial affection of his son, the great duke of Chou, constitutes that most bewildering of all the Confucian classics known as the *Yi King*, or "Book of Changes." Wên Wang's literary labors were, however, no barrier to his fitness for military achievement. Through the intercession of the people who loved him and because of the promise to get for the Emperor a beautiful concubine and some splendid horses from the west, he was after two years released from prison and sent west to fight the frontier tribes. But he soon returned and headed the revolt against Chou Hsin with the result that has already been recorded. He "found the people hanging head downwards and set them on their feet" and was known to all future times as Wên Wang, "the Lettered Sovereign."

Wu Wang. Wu Wang, or Fa, his son, became the first reigning sovereign of the Chou line, which, as we have seen, received its name from the Duchy of Chou on the western frontier. He seems to have been a genuinely great monarch, commencing his rule with generous actions and a conciliatory attitude towards the conquered. He opened the prisons which were doubtless filled with the victims of Chou Hsin's tyranny and also the granaries whose contents at this juncture were badly needed. In the proclamation which he made exposing the misdeeds of the late dynasty, the following is spoken of as one of the crimes of Chou Hsin. "He has put men into office on the hereditary principle,"— a striking testimony to the essentially democratic character of the early Chinese government. Wu Wang established his capital at Singanfu, a city which had the honor of being the center of government at several subsequent epochs, and was the natural refuge for the Emperor and Empress Dowager during the months following the Boxer revolt of 1900. Wu Wang also reformed the calendar, created schools of various grades, and made other memorable improvements in methods of government and administration.

Chou Kung. The great glory of the reign of Wu Wang was the character and statesmanship of the King's brother, Tan, better known as Chou Kung, "the Duke of Chou." We may call him the Duke of Chou *par excellence,* for he is included by Mencius in the number of the "Three Great Sages" of China, of whom the other two are Yü, the patriarch king of the Hsia dynasty, and, of course, Confucius. The philosopher adds the reason for his estimate as follows: "In former times Yü repressed the vast waters of the inundation and the empire was reduced to order. Chou Kung's achievements extended even to the barbarous tribes of the west and north; he drove away all ferocious animals; and the people enjoyed repose." He did even more than his father, Wên Wang, for the perfecting of the "Book of Changes," the *Yi King*, interpreting the significance of each line of the hexagram, as his father had interpreted the general meaning of the whole. As he showed by this voluntary labor his filial love, so he showed his fraternal love by constituting himself the pillar of Wu Wang's throne. He might almost be regarded as the most potent force in the permanent organization of the Chinese administration system. His zeal was so great that he received interviewers even whilst he was having his bath, rushing out holding his wet hair in his hand rather than keep them waiting. His seriousness is illustrated by his rebuke of the Emperor for bestowing a certain symbol of power upon another jokingly. "I was only joking," said the prince. "Nay," replied Chou Kung, "a prince never jokes. His words are written down as history, take shape as ceremonial rites, or are set to music and sung." His delicacy of feeling was shown by his prayer for the recovery of Wu Wang when the monarch was dangerously ill. Chou Kung's appeal to the ancestors and his divination with the tortoises were regarded as the real cause of the

King's recovery. The same feeling was shown later on the death of Wu Wang and the accession of the child-king, Ch'êng. Chou Kung feared it might be supposed that he was himself aiming at the supreme power, so, although he was appointed regent, he went voluntarily into exile to escape suspicion of self-seeking. Fortunately for the realm, he was recalled when certain impending difficulties and dangers made his presence once again necessary. To the above catalogue of the great Duke's achievements we may add that he was often described as the inventor of the Mariner's Compass on the strength of the mention of a wonderful "south-pointing chariot" which he devised to assist the return of the envoys from Tongking to their own home. The reference, however, is of a very doubtful meaning.

THE CHOU LI. Of more authenticity and even value, as an achievement, may be credited to Chou Kung the composition of the "Chou li," or "Ceremonial of Chou," a book describing in detail the organization of the Government at this epoch. Of this work Professor Hirth has written: "As an educator of the nation the 'Chou li' has probably not its like among the literatures of the world, not excepting even the Bible." Whether in its present form it can be regarded as the work of Chou Kung is at least doubtful, but it may certainly be considered as reflecting the spirit of his administration.

It contains, for the first time, the categorical division of the people into nine classes, in the following order: landlords, gardeners, woodmen, livestock-keepers, artisans, merchants, housewives, servants, and those without fixed professions.

The chief honor is thereby given to those who cultivate the soil and the status of the merchant is low, because he is a middleman, not a producer. The "Chou li" also describes in detail the duties of the Six Boards which are as follows:

1. *The Mandarin*[1] *of Heaven*, with general supervision over all government, the regulation of the dress, food and all the activities of the Emperor.

2. *The Mandarin of Earth*, responsible for the welfare of the people. Among the numerous responsibilities of this Board was a fairly comprehensive one with regard to marriages. It was supposed to see to it that every girl was married by the time she was twenty and every man by the time he was thirty.

3. *The Mandarin of Spring*, in charge of all religious rites, and ceremonies associated with the observance of the seasons, divinations and astrological investigations.

4. *The Mandarin of Summer*, the Board of War, providing detailed instructions for the raising and equipment of troops.

5. *The Mandarin of Autumn*, the Board of Justice, regulating all punishments.

6. *The Mandarin of Winter*, the Board of Public Works.

These six Boards remained substantially in this order of importance until the creation of the *Wai-wu-pu*, or Board of Foreign Affairs in 1900. The Wai-wu-pu now takes precedence of all but the first.

CH'ÊNG WANG AND HIS SUCCESSORS. Chou Kung died in the year B. C. 1105 and was buried, as he deserved, with royal honors and amid the lamentation of the whole nation. The kings who succeeded Wu Wang must be passed over with but slight notice. Perhaps we lose little by the omissions. *Ch'êng Wang* selected a new capital, *Loyang*, the present city of Honanfu, a city which, like Singanfu, had its vicissitudes. *Chao Wang*, B. C. 1052–1002, helps to illustrate the growing importance of popular feeling. He drew down on himself much ill will because of the heedlessness with which, when engaged in war or hunting, he trampled down the crops of his subjects. For this they revenged themselves in the following summary manner: On the king requiring to cross a certain river, the people provided him with a boat so constructed as to come apart in the middle of the stream. The king managed to swim ashore, but he died not very long after, either as a result of the wetting or through another similar "accident."

Mu Wang, who succeeded Chao Wang and reigned from B. C. 1001 to 947, deserves mention on account of his travels. With his charioteer Tsao-fu and his eight marvelous horses he went "wherever wheelruts ran and the hoofs of horses had trodden." The book giving an account of these adventures only dates, however, from the second or third century B. C., so that there is considerable room for doubt. One interesting visit was to the *Hsi Wang Mu* or "Royal Lady of the West." The identity of this princess is one of the mysteries of history and Taoist writers have woven around the story a mass of marvelous fairy lore, describing the Queen as inhabiting a magnificent mountain palace, hard by which was the Lake of Gems and the Peach Tree of Immortality from whose branches flew azure-winged birds on errands of love. Here she lived surrounded by troops of genii and by and by a consort was found for her in Tung Wang Kung, the Eastern King Lord. Others have used their imaginations in a different direction by recognizing in the Hsi Wang Mu the Queen of Sheba! While still others have adopted the prosaic explanation that we have here simply the name of a tribe. Mu Wang visited also "the land of moving sands," and "the land of heaped-up feathers," and came to the land "where the green birds cast their feathers."[2] The geography of all this is as much a mystery as the personality of the Royal Lady of the West, but the pride of Persia has claimed the honor of a visit in these peregrinations. It is quite possible that by means of some such expeditions as these referred to there was introduced into China the particular philosophic and religious element which appears a little later in the teaching of Lao Tzŭ.

Inferior names succeed to that of Mu Wang and the growing inability of the Emperors to manage their vast feudal domains becomes increasingly evident. Some of the statesmen, however, seem to have been men of more dignity and resource than their masters.

Li Wang. B. C. 878–842. As an example we may take the story of the Duke of Shau who was minister under Li Wang. Li Wang disliked and resented the open criticism of his policy by the people. As a deterrent he ordered all the suspected slanderers to be seized and executed. This done, criticism was naturally silent and the exultant Emperor exclaimed to his minister, " Where are all your gossipers now? " The answer was as follows: " All you have brought about is a screen which prevents you from learning the real sentiments of the people; but you should know that it is more dangerous to shut the people's mouths than to stop the waters of a river. To stop the progress of a river means to force it to expand and thus do more harm than if it had been allowed to take its natural course. Such is the case with your people. If you want to prevent the damage threatening from the inundation of a river you have to lead it into a proper bed which will hold all its waters; if you want to make an impression on the people, let them have perfect liberty of speech." [3]

SUAN WANG. B. C. 827–782. Suan Wang furnishes another illustration of the danger of disregarding the popular will and the maintenance of governmental traditions. " There was a time-honored custom," says Hirth, " under the Chou dynasty that the Emperor had to perform the ceremony of working in person in the ' Fields of a Thousand Acres ' set aside for the purpose, a ceremony similar to that of the handling of the plow by the Emperor at the present day. Suan Wang declined to comply with the practice in spite of the remonstrances of his dukes, with the result that in B. C. 789 his army was defeated in a battle against certain Tangutan tribes. The name of the battle field, according to Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, was *Ch'ien miao*, which means ' a thousand acres,' but it would appear that the name was given to the locality afterward in commemoration of the Emperor's disinclination to listen to his minister's remonstrations." Whether due or not to the Emperor's crimes, a great drought afflicted the land at this time, and the "Book of Odes"[4] gives us the following fine account of Suan Wang's expostulation with Heaven.

"Brightly resplendent in the sky revolved
The milky way. The monarch cried, Alas!
What crime is ours, that Heaven thus sends on us
Death and Disorder, that with blow on blow
Famine attacks us? Surely I have grudged
To God no victims; all our store is spent
On tokens. Why is it I am not heard?
Rages the drought. The hills are parched, and dry
The streams. The demon of the drought
Destroys like one who scatters fiery flames.
Terrified by the burning heat my heart,
My mourning heart, seems all consumed with fire.
The many dukes and ministers of the past
Pay me no heed. O God, from thy great heaven
Send me permission to withdraw myself
Into seclusion. Fearful is the drought.
I hesitate, I dread to go away.
Why has this drought been sent upon my land?
No cause for it know I. Full early rose
My prayers for a good year; not late was I
In off'ring sacrifice unto the Lords
Of the Four Quarters and the land. Afar
In the high Heaven God listens not. And yet
Surely a reverent man as I have been
To all intelligent spirits should not be
The victim of their overwhelming wrath."[5]

What with physical calamities within and the increasing troublesomeness of the Huns without, the military and civil capacity of the rulers of China at this time was certainly put severely to the test.

Yu Wang. B. C. 781–771. Suan Wang was succeeded by *Yu Wang* who reigned just ten years. There is a presentiment of coming disaster in the story of this effeminate ruler and his favorite, *Pao-ssŭ.* Of mysterious birth,[6] Pao was ordered slain when an infant, but, wrapped in a piece of matting, she was rescued from the river, put out to nurse, and later presented to the king because of her great beauty. She soon displaced the legitimate wife of Yu Wang and caused the banishment of the heir-apparent. And now no folly was too great for Yu Wang to perpetrate in order to amuse his mistress, who, for her part, found it by no means easy to be amused. Because she liked the swishing sound of rending silks, he ordered the tearing up of large numbers of pieces of the costliest fabrics. The king had established outposts at which beacon-fires could be kindled and drums beaten to give warning of the incursions of the Huns. The melancholy princess could not be induced to smile until she was permitted to give the order for the lighting of the beacon in order that she might enjoy the discomfiture of the feudatory princes when they responded to the false alarm. At length the enemy arrived in reality; the cry of " Wolf " was given as usual, but this time in vain; no troops appeared; the king was taken prisoner and slain, and Pao-ssŭ herself carried off, together with much booty. She is said to have committed suicide by strangling herself.

In the sixth year of this reign occurred the eclipse of the sun which gives us our earliest fixed point in Chinese chronology, viz: — Aug. 29, B. C. 776.

The reference to the event is contained in one of the Odes of the *Shi King:*

" At the conjunction of the sun and moon in the 10th month,
On the first day of the moon, which was *sin mau,*
The sun was eclipsed, a thing of very evil omen.
Then the moon became small, and now the sun became small,
Henceforth the lower people will be in very deplorable case."

P'ING WANG. B. C. 770–720. P'ing Wang followed his father, Yu, and reigned for the most part peacefully. But the Chou dynasty was now past its zenith and although destined to brave the storms of time for five centuries longer, the story was to be one of anarchy, assassination, misrule and trouble. The vassal princes became more and more powerful and therewith more and more independent. They began to take possession of entire provinces and to govern them without reference to the decrees of the Emperors. A good illustration in point is that kingdom of *Lu* (part of the modern province of Shantung) of which Confucius has given the continuous history for about two hundred and fifty years, namely, from B. C. 722 to 481. The history will be found in that one of the Confucian Classics known as *Ch'un Tsiu* or the " Spring and Autumn Annals."

NOTES

1. The word *Mandarin* comes, in all probability, not from the Portuguese *mandar,* "to command," but from the Sanscrit *mantrin,* "counsellor," from the root *man* "to think."

2. The journeys of Mu Wang are passed over in silence by the historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, but an account of them is preserved in a book called *Mu Tien Tsz Ch'uan,* translated by Dr. Eitel. See "China Review," xvii, p. 223 ff.

3. There are a great many stories of the good Duke of Shau's loyalty to the Emperor. In a rebellion he sacrificed his own son in order to save the heir-apparent.

4. Book of Odes, Part III, Book III, Ode 4.

5. Chavannes describes the death of Suan Wang as the result of the murder of "le conte de Tou." Three years after, while the king was hunting, "le mort conte se dressa sur la gauche du chemin; il avait un vêtement et un bonnet rouges et il tenait à la main un arc et des flèches rouges; il tira sur le roi Suen et l'atteignit au coeur; le roi eut l'épine dorsale brisée et mourut." (Note to translation of Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, I 178).

6. Pao-ssŭ sprang, it is said, from the foam of a dragon's mouth. The dragon visited the royal palace during the Hsia Dynasty and left the foam on a piece of stuff which the terrified attendants held before them. This, kept in a coffer, was transmitted from reign to reign till it was opened in the reign of Li Wang. It then took possession of the body of a young girl who gave birth to a child. The child, abandoned, was taken by a banished man and his wife into the country of Pao, whence it received the name of Pao-ssŭ.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CHOU DYNASTY
(*Concluded*)

B. C. 685–249.

II. FROM THE FIVE LEADERS TO THE CH'IN EPOCH

Huan Wang — Duke Huan of Ch'i — Duke Wên of Chin — Prince Chuang of Ch'u — the age of the Philosophers — Lao Tzŭ — Taoism — Confucius — the Five King and the Four Shu — Mencius — Yang Chu — Mo Ti — Chwang Tzŭ — Fall of the Chou dynasty.

Huan Wang. The grandson of P'ing Wang, *Huan Wang*, reigned from B. C. 719 to 679, but "tried in vain to assert his authority among the contending states." The history of the next century, i.e. from B. C. 685 to 591, has been entitled the period of the *Five Leaders* because it exhibits the rise in succession to power of the five States of Ch'i, Sung, Chin, Ch'in, Ch'u.

The Five Leaders. The five great princes who represent the successive periods of dominance are as follows:

1. *Duke Huan of Ch'i*, B. C. 685–643, whose fame is closely bound up with that of his great Prime Minister, the philosopher *Kwan Tzŭ*, or Kwan Chung, noteworthy as the statesman-statistician who

obtained a revenue for his master by the levying of taxes upon salt and iron. The philosophical work on government and legislation ascribed to Kwan Tzŭ and called by his name is now generally regarded as a forgery of later times. Kwan Tzŭ deserves mention not only as an economist but as a typical Chinese friend. The story of Kwan Tzŭ and Pao Shuh corresponds in China to the Greek story of Damon and Pythias. "My parents," said Kwan Tzŭ, "gave me birth but Pao Shuh alone knows my feelings."

Duke Huan was for thirty-nine years the undisputed leader among the feudal chiefs and a successful warrior against China's foreign foes. He was evidently a shrewd judge of merit as is illustrated in the story of how he raised to the position of one of his chief counselors the philosopher, Ning Tsi, whom he discovered earning his bread as a wagoner. The Duke also appeals to us sympathetically as having sent back to her father a favorite wife who persisted in rocking the boat in which they were one day amusing themselves on the Lake. In his last illness the great chief lay neglected whilst his sons quarreled over the succession. It is a serious indictment against the filial piety of the time that the body of the dead ruler lay for months unburied and uncared for and the prestige of the state fell as rapidly as it had risen.

2. *Duke Siang of Sung.* B. C. 650–637.

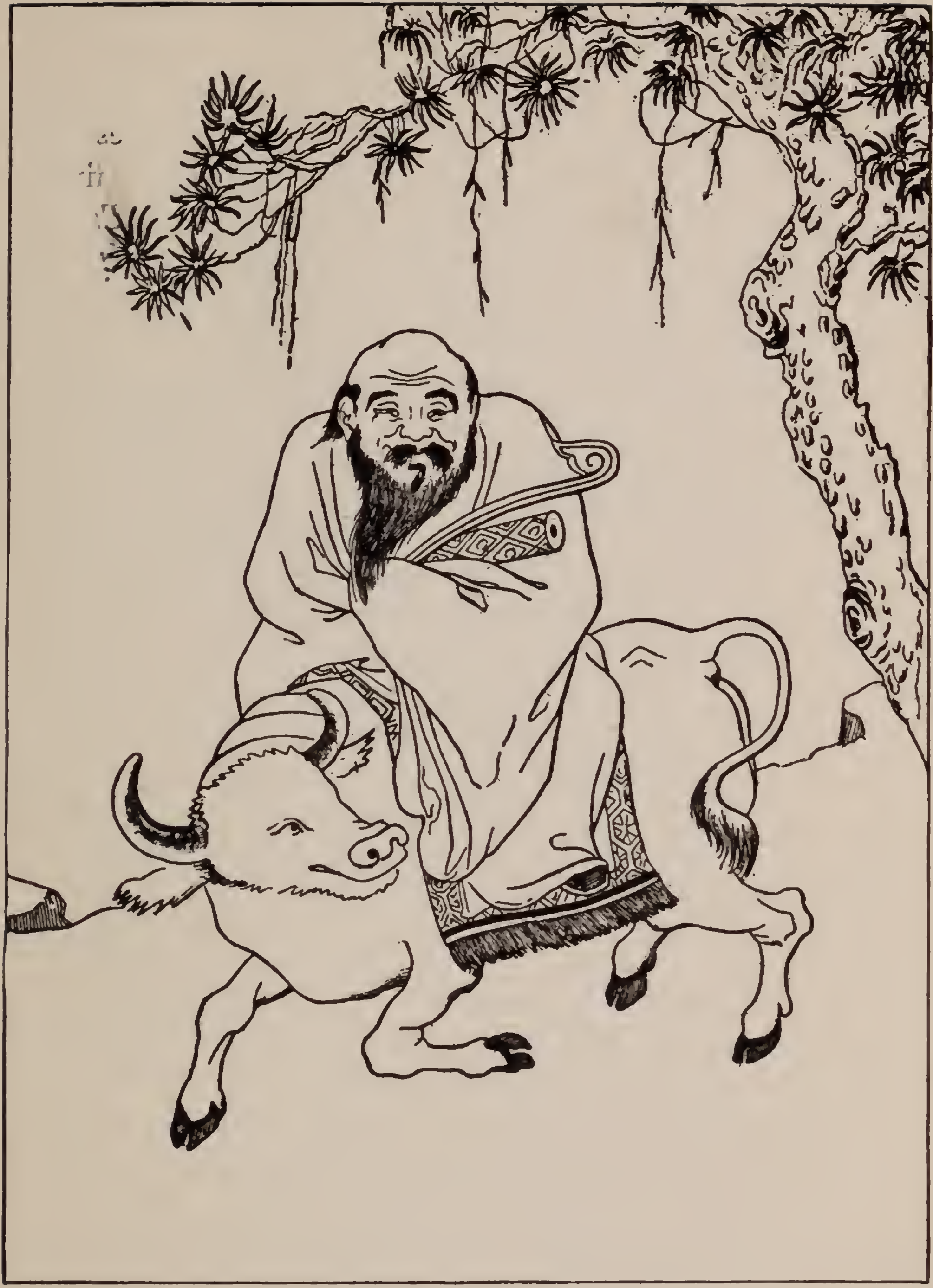
3. *Duke Wên of Chin*, B. C. 636–628, who came to the rulership of the State after he had declined to accept the position on terms which appeared to him dishonorable. "Fugitive as I am," he said, "it

is not the getting of the State which is precious in my sight but the maintenance of my benevolence and my filial piety." On his way through a certain district, he was once reduced to the necessity of begging for food. A churlish fellow offered him a clod of earth. The future duke bowed, accepted the clod with the remark, "It is Heaven's gift, a gift of the soil, a good omen,"[1] and took it along with him, as hopefully as Duke William of Normandy clutched the handful of sand when he slipped upon the sea beach of England. Duke Wên fought a great battle against the State of Ch'u in B. C. 632 and died four years after his victory.

4. *Duke Mu of Ch'in*, B. C. 659–621.

5. *Prince Chuang of Ch'u*, B. C. 613–591, who with success became audacious and sent to the Emperor an insolent message asking the size and weight of the Nine Tripods on which the security of the Empire was said to depend. The reply of the Emperor, *Ting Wang*, was not without its dignity: "When virtue is brilliant, the tripods are heavy; when the reverse, they are light; Heaven blesses intelligent virtue; on that its favor rests. Though the virtue of Chou is decayed, the decree of Heaven is not yet changed. The weight of the Tripods may not be enquired about."

LAO TZU. The state of anarchy and confusion which, it is apparent, was prevailing at this time was not without its relief. Doubtless there were many happy interludes of government in the various states such as, for instance, the rule of Tsze Ch'an who from B. C. 584 to 571 ruled the Duchy of Cheng so well that "the doors were not locked at night and lost articles were not picked up from the highways." Moreover, as some compensation for the political infelicities of the age we find in this very period of disruption or incohesion some of the greatest personalities of Chinese history. Of these, the first in date is the somewhat shadowy figure of *Lao Tzŭ*, the founder of Taoism. The name Lao Tzŭ may mean either "Aged Boy," in allusion to the legend of his having been born already seventy years old and with white hair, or else "Old Philosopher." His personal name was Li (Plum tree) and he was born about B. C. 604 in the State of Ch‘u (the present provinces of Hupeh and Hunan). Almost nothing is known of his life and some regard the whole story as mythical. He is said to have held an official position as Keeper of Archives at Loh under the Duke of Chou. The leading idea of his teaching was that of the mystic and quietist and was so diametrically opposed to the orthodox Confucianism that it is no wonder foreign origin has been suspected. There was never any very clear idea in China as to what the "Way" precisely was. According to Lao Tzŭ himself, "Those who know do not tell; those who tell do not know." Confucius says that he studied the Tao for twenty years and came no nearer to the understanding of it. The one interview which legend ascribes to the two philosophers is said to have resulted in mutual perplexity. The exponent of the Way seemed to Confucius to be "soaring dragon-like above the clouds to Heaven." Confucius himself was all for externals, for rules of propriety and the duties of the "superior man." Lao Tzŭ asserted that "the crow does not become black through



LAO TZŬ

being painted nor the pigeon white through bathing." Lao Tzŭ " anticipated the Christian doctrine of returning good for evil, a sentiment which was highly reprobated by the practical mind of Confucius, who declared that evil should be met by justice." The classic of Taoism is known as the *Tao Tê King*, or " Classic of the Way." It is in all probability the work of a later age, perhaps of the 2nd Century B. C., but it is generally regarded as containing many of the sayings of Lao Tzŭ. Such are the following:

> " Keep behind and you shall be put in front. Keep out and you shall be put in."
>
> " Mighty is he who conquers himself."
>
> " He who is conscious of being strong is content to be weak."
>
> " He who is content has enough."
>
> " To the good I would be good. To the not-good also I would be good in order to make them good."
>
> " Recompense injury with kindness."
>
> " Do nothing and all things will be done."
>
> " The weak overcomes the strong; the soft overcomes the hard."

Lao Tzŭ passes from the page of history as mysteriously as he enters. He is said to have journeyed to the West and is represented in Art as riding on an ox, or in a car drawn by blue (or black) oxen. Yin Hi, the keeper of the gate at the frontier pass, warned beforehand in a dream, was the last to see him and procured from him in writing the philosophy of the Tao.

Lao Tzŭ's chief interpreter was *Chwang Tzŭ*,[2] who lived two centuries later and endeavored to rescue his master's name from oblivion. The period of the Ch'in dynasty was that which in one sense was the most favorable to Taoism, though from another point of view it led to so much corruption that some have even distinguished between Laoism, the teaching of the sage, and Taoism, the later, and corrupt, system. During the Ch'in dynasty the Emperor was wont to expound Taoism to his courtiers and caused those who yawned to be executed. Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, the "Burner of the Books," was an ardent Taoist and sent a famous expedition to Japan in search of the *Elixir vitæ.* The first sovereign of the Han dynasty was also much devoted to this faith and the hierarchy of Taoist Popes dates from about this time. The first Pope was *Chang Tao-ling* who ascended to heaven at the age of 123 from the Dragon Tiger Mountain in Kiangsi on which his descendants have ever since resided. "He had acquired power to walk among the stars, to divide mountains and seas, to command the wind and the thunder, and to quell demons." The later Taoism received from Buddhism the worst of that system as it imparted to Buddhism the best of its own. It is now little but a system of magic and charlatanry. The present "Great Wizard" or Pope is employed to expel evil spirits from the houses of the wealthy. "All new gods are employed by the Emperor through him, and on the first day of every month he gives audience to an invisible host of gods and demigods who come to present their compliments.[3] This religion was bitterly opposed and persecuted at certain periods, notably by Kublai Khan in the 13th Century.

Confucius. Confucius, "the sage of the family Kung in the State of Lu," was a little junior to Lao Tzŭ and the representative of the very opposite, and characteristically Chinese, type of philosophy. Many estimates have been formed of this remarkable man, but most will agree with the words of Von der Gabelentz: "If we are to measure the greatness of a historic personage, I can only see one standard applicable for the purpose: the effectiveness of that person's influence according to its dimensions, duration and intensity. If this standard be applied Confucius was one of the greatest of men. For even at the present day, after the lapse of more than 2,000 years, the moral, social, and political life of about one-third of mankind continues to be under the full influence of his mind."

Of course Confucius was, to a large extent, successful because he systematized, practiced and taught what was already accepted as the Chinese ideal. He himself disclaimed being an originator: he professed himself a "transmitter." Here we can only give the main facts of his not very eventful life. The K'ungs of Shantung are probably the oldest nobility on earth, being, in fact, the only hereditary nobility in China other than royalty, and, strangely enough, the descendants of the "Sea quelling" Duke, the famous pirate Coxinga. The present Duke of K'ung traces his descent back seventy generations. Confucius, first of the line, was born B. C. 551. His father was a soldier, Shu-liang, a man of great bravery and strength, who distinguished himself at the siege of Piyang by holding open the port-cullis by main force of arms. Shu-liang was seventy years old, with a family of nine daughters and one crippled son when he married the mother of Confucius. The birth took place in a cave of Mt. Ni, whither the woman had gone on pilgrimage. Hence the child's name *Chung Ni,* which later became *K'ung Fu Tzŭ* (Confucius). The father died when Confucius was three years old and he was brought up by his mother till the age of seven. He was early distinguished for the gravity and formality of his deportment, and a familiar story tells of his playing at "rules of propriety" with his child comrades. At school he soon became a monitor and remained till the age of seventeen, when he accepted an under-Mandarinate, the inspectorship of the sale of grains. This office he filled with such success that a regular agricultural school was the result. At the age of nineteen he married, but the match turned out unfortunately, and the wife was divorced after giving birth to a son. This child was called *Li* (carp) in allusion to a present of fish [4] received that day from the Duke of Lu. Probably Confucius was but a cold father, as he had been a cold husband. A story tells of the question addressed to Li by a disciple of the sage, "Have you learned any lessons from your father different from those received by us?" The young man replied that Confucius had only addressed to him two questions, viz:—"Have you read the Odes?" and "Have you studied the Rules of Propriety?" From this answer the questioner deduced that the "superior man" always shows reserve towards his children.

For a time Confucius acted as Inspector of Fields and Herds, but the death of his mother necessitated a three years' period of retirement which the sage consecrated to study, music and archery. He then became a teacher. "At thirty he stood firm," and soon after had three thousand disciples by whom he was deeply reverenced. According to his own account, he was not patient with stupid scholars, but expected a pupil, when he himself had lifted one corner of a subject, to lift up the other three.

Raised to the position of Minister of Crime, he brought about notable reforms, insomuch that it is told, as of the reign of King Alfred of England, that jewels could be left upon the highways and remain untouched. The Duke and his people, however, got tired of the moral severity of the sage's influence, while Confucius himself, not unreasonably, got tired of the inconsistencies of the Duke and his court. He felt occasionally as much out of place as Dante at Verona, a very "stray dog," as he expresses it. In the Duke's progresses he said that it was a case of "Vice in front and virtue behind." Hence he retired in despair, seeking a new sphere for politico-moral experiments or else confining himself to the instruction of his disciples. He died, discouraged at his apparent lack of success, at the age of seventy-two. "The great mountain must crumble, the strong beam must break, the wise man withers away like a plant." He was buried at *Ku-fu-hing* where his grave is visited by multitudes of pilgrims.[5] Confucius was mourned even by those who had despised his teaching. His work was carried on by others, especially, two centuries later, by Mencius. After a brief period of persecution during the Ch'in Dynasty, the influence of Confucianism experienced a remarkable revival. Confucius was made Duke and Earl under the Han Dynasty; "Perfect Sage" in the 5th Century A.D.; King (*Wang*) under the T'ang Dynasty; Emperor (Hwang-ti) under the Sungs; while the Mings and Manchus learned to pay him reverence under the title, "Perfect Sage, Ancient Teacher." This is not the place to describe in detail the principles of his philosophy. The effect of it is seen in the Chinese people to-day. The age-long training in the *Five Relations*, i. e. the proper relation of Emperor and Subject, Father and Son, Husband and Wife, Elder Brother and Younger Brother, Friend and Friend, assimilated even the barbarous Mongols and Manchus to Chinese ideals. Nevertheless, the weaknesses of the system are obvious, its externality, its lack of emotional power, its wrong theory of human nature,[6] its narrow theory of life. In spite of all this, China would be grievously lacking in gratitude did she ever consent to give up her reverence for so pure and disinterested a teacher of righteousness. His grandson wrote the following impassioned eulogy which represents not unfairly the deliberate estimate of all educated China: "His fame overflows the Middle Kingdom and reaches the barbarians of north and south. Wherever ships and wagons can go, or the strength of man penetrate; wherever there is heaven above and earth below; wherever the sun and moon shed their light, or frosts or dews fall,—all who have blood and breath honor and love him. Wherefore it may be said that he is the peer of God."

THE CONFUCIAN CLASSICS should be mentioned here, although an adequate account of them could only find place in a history of Chinese literature or philosophy. Some have suggested that the books which come under this head are all elaborate forgeries,[7] but the general consensus of scholars is in favor of accepting the genuineness of nine works.

These are divided into the two classes, the *Five King* and the *Four Shu*, which have sometimes been described as respectively the Old and New Testaments of Chinese sacred literature.

The *Five King* are as follows:

1. The *Shu King, or* " Book of History," consisting of fragmentary records of events extending from the time of Yao and Shun, B. C. 2400, down to B. C. 619.

2. The *Shi King*, or " Book of Odes," a collection of 305 poems, sacrificial, lyrical and miscellaneous. Five of them go back to the time of the Shang Dynasty, B. C. 1800, while the remaining 300 belong to the times of the Chou.

3. The *Yi King*, or " Book of Changes," the elaborated interpretation of the Sixty-four Hexagrams ascribed to Wên Wang and the Duke of Chou. It is a detailed application, by means of the Hexagrams, of the old Chinese philosophy of Whole and Broken lines, the Yang and the Yin, the Bright and the Dark, the Male and the Female, Active and Passive, Odd and Even, Strong and Weak.[8]

4. The *Li Ki*, or " Book of Rites," the " Vade Mecum " of " the superior man," the text-book of the Board of Rites.

5. *Ch'un Ts'iu*, or " Spring and Autumn Annals," the history of the State of Lu for a period of about two hundred and fifty years.[9]

The *Four Shu* are these:

1. *Lun Yu*, or the "Analects," consisting of dialogues of Confucius with his disciples, remarks on government, virtue, etc.[10]

2. *Tai Hsiao*, or the "Great Learning," containing the detailed analysis of the process by means of which man becomes, first the Sage, then the Ruler. This is an exceedingly interesting little outline of Confucian ethics which has had extraordinary influence on the molding of Chinese character.

3. *Chung Yung*, or the "Doctrine of the Mean," compiled by Kung Ki, the grandson of the Sage, of whose tenets he was one of the most enthusiastic exponents.

4. *Mencius*. The sayings of the philosopher of that name.

After Confucius. From the 4th Century B. C. onwards we have a great deal of light thrown upon Chinese history in the work of Ssŭ-ma Kuang, the historian of the 11th century A. D. It has been made accessible, so far as its material parts are concerned, for foreigners in the great work of Father de Maille.

The story told makes it quite apparent that the last days of the Chou dynasty were at this time approaching and that there was a general weakening of the central Government in its relation to the many contending States, amongst which the State of Ch‘in, with its foreign elements of race and culture, was the most conspicuous. The puppet Emperors of the period have for us little or no interest and may be dismissed with scant notice. But, by way of compensation, there are three or four philosophers on account of whom the period is not only interesting but quite important.

MENCIUS. First of all there is the great apostle of Confucianism, Mêng K'o, whose name is most familiar to us in its Latinized form as Mencius. He was the contemporary of Plato, born in the province of Shantung, not far from the birthplace of his illustrious master. His mother is the model Chinese mother, so solicitous for her son's welfare that she moved her residence from time to time in order to avoid a dangerous moral environment. From the neighborhood of a cemetery she moved to prevent her little son from mimicking the mourners; from the neighborhood of a slaughter house she moved again to stop him from imitating the cries of the slaughtered animals; from a house near the market to avoid his acquiring the manners of the trading classes; and so on until by design or chance, she settled upon the vicinity of a school. This proved so satisfactory on either side that no further move was required. "At a later period," says Mayers, "she destroyed with a knife a web of cloth on which she was engaged as a practical lesson to her son who showed a disposition to trifle in his studies." The famous woman was, as we might expect, highly reverenced by Mencius and, when she died, he gave her a most sumptuous funeral. The philosopher was a great political economist, and his teachings were of a most democratic character. He taught that of the three objects of regard, the gods, the Emperor and the people, the people came first, the gods second and the Emperor only third. He defended, consequently, the right of the people to rebel;

saying: "When the prince is guilty of great errors, the minister should reprove him; if, after doing so again and again, he does not listen, he should dethrone him and put another in his place." "He who gains the hearts of the people," he said again, "secures the throne, and he who loses the people's heart, loses the throne." Mencius insistently urged upon rulers the benevolent administration of their realms. Provided, he said, taxes were light and government just, the nation would need no army of mailed warriors but would be able to beat off their foreign enemies "with mere sticks in their hands." He is regarded as the leading advocate, if not the author, of the "tsing" system, whereby land was divided into nine portions by lines resembling the ideograph "*tsing.*" The eight outside divisions were cultivated by individual owners for their own profit; the middle portion was cultivated jointly for the benefit of the State. Mencius lived the last twenty years of his life in retirement and died B. C. 289 in his 84th year.

YANG CHU. A philosopher of a quite different type was *Yang Chu* or Lieh Tzŭ (Latinized as *Licius*). He is the Chinese Qoheleth, the pessimist Epicurean who followed his inclination and sought happiness in pleasure. Yet he taught at the same time that life was not worth the living and that after death comes nothing. It is interesting to note that Epicurus, with whom in many respects he agrees, was his contemporary. As was natural Yang Chu and Mencius were life-long adversaries.

MO TI, or *Micius*, was of still another order.

The two men, says Legge (alluding to Mo Ti and Yang Chu), "stood at opposite poles of human thought and sentiment." Mo Ti is the altruist, the teacher of the principle that "all evils arise from lack of mutual love." He too was opposed to, and by, Mencius.

Chwang Tzŭ. At this time too lived the great interpreter of Taoism, Chwang Tzŭ, who has already been alluded to. But for the dominance of Confucianism at this time, his reputation would probably have stood higher than was actually the case. He plainly reflects in his writings, which have much charm, an Indian influence, as in the closing lines of his poem on "*Peaceful Old Age.*"

> "Thus strong in faith I wait, and long to be
> One with the pulsings of Eternity."

Chwang Tzŭ mingled wit with his philosophy and humility with both. The following story is a good illustration:

"Chwang Tzŭ was fishing in the P'u when the Prince of Ch'u sent two high officials to ask him to take charge of the administration of the Ch'u State. Chwang Tzŭ went on fishing, and, without turning his head, said: 'I have heard that in Ch'u there is a sacred tortoise which has been dead now some three thousand years, and that the Prince keeps this tortoise carefully enclosed in a chest on the altar of his ancestral temple. Now, would this tortoise rather be dead and have its remains venerated, or be alive and wagging its tail in the mud?'

"'It would rather be alive,' replied the two officials, 'and wagging its tail in the mud.'

"'Begone!' cried Chwang Tzŭ, 'I too will wag my tail in the mud.'"[11]

He forbade his followers to give his body burial, saying, "I will have Heaven and Earth for my sarcophagus; the sun and moon shall be the insignia where I lie in state, and all creation shall be mourners at my funeral."

THE STORY OF CHU YUAN. The corruption of the times and the despair of good men is illustrated by the story of the loyal minister, *Chu Yuan*, who wrote his allegorical poem, "Falling into Trouble," to describe the search for a prince who might be induced to give heed to counsels of good government. Driven at last to despair by the successful intrigues of his rivals, he went to the river to commit suicide. "All the world," he said, "is foul and I am clean." "The true sage," replied the fisherman, "does not quarrel with his environment. If the world is foul why not leap into it and make it clean." But Chu Yuan, clasping a big stone, leaped instead into the river, and the Dragon Festival, which takes place every year on the 5th day of the 5th month, is said to represent the search for his body.

SU TS'IN. From the middle of the 4th Century it was becoming difficult to hold the States together against the constantly growing menace of the Kingdom of Ch'in. One man indeed in this turbulent epoch deserves mention for his efforts to this end, namely, the statesman *Su Ts'in*, who in B. C. 333 actually succeeded in forming a league of the six States of Yen, Chao, Han, Wei, Ch'i and Ch'u. For a while he managed the confederation successfully, moving from court to court to impart backbone to the respective princes. But internal intrigue nullified his efforts and he was assassinated. He is famous as the author of the saying: "It is better to be a fowl's beak than the hinder part of an ox." After his death war broke out between the States and made the success of the Ch'ins certain. In an encounter between the forces of Yen and those of Ch'i, a hero of the latter state more than emulated the Biblical story of Samson and the foxes. He collected a host of oxen tied swords to their horns and bunches of greased reeds to their tails and drove them against the enemy who were routed in great confusion.

Nan Wang. B. C. 314–256. The last monarch of the Chou dynasty was *Nan Wang*, who reigned nearly sixty years, during which time he vainly tried by means of alliances of various kinds to stem the successful career of the State of Ch'in. Victory after victory marked the slow but sure advance of the enemy and Nan Wang died just in time to avoid witnessing the spectacle of the once mighty house of Chou crumbling into ruins. The regent whom he left in charge was made prisoner and the Nine Tripods of Yü captured.

A short period of interregnum or anarchy followed and then the destinies of China passed into the keeping of the short-lived but glorious Dynasty of Ch'in.

NOTES

1. Legge, quoted by Hirth, "Ancient History," p. 213.

2. For a good account of Chwang Tzŭ, or Chwang Chow, as he is sometimes called, see "Musings of a Chinese Mystic," with Introduction by Lionel Giles, 1908.

3. See Brinkley's "China," "Propaganda and Religions."

4. The *Carp,* as in Japan, is the boy's festival emblem. "The idea is that as the carp swims up the river against the current, so will the sturdy boy, overcoming all obstacles, make his way in the world, and rise to fame and fortune." Chamberlain, "Things Japanese," p. 93.

5. For a good description of the Temple and Tomb read Brown's "New Forces in Old China," pp. 65 ff.

6. Cf. teaching of Pelagius and Rousseau. The first phrase of the "Three Character Classics" is "Man is by nature good."

7. H. J. Allen, "Early Chinese History," 1906.

8. Read Introduction to Legge's Translation of the "Yi King" in the "Sacred Books of the East."

9. For samples of this history see R. K. Douglas, "The Literature of China."

10. See "The Sayings of Confucius," with Introduction by Lionel Giles, 1908.

11. "Musings of a Chinese Mystic," p. 109.

CHAPTER IX

THE CH'IN DYNASTY

B. C. 249–210.

Chiang Hsiang Wang — Ch'in Shih Huang Ti — the Great Wall — the "Burning of the Books" — Taoist propaganda — the end of the dynasty.

Chiang Hsiang Wang. The history of the State of Ch'in slides almost insensibly into that of the Imperial Ch'in Dynasty. *Chao Hsiang Wang*, who had reigned fifty-two years over the State of Ch'in, died and left the succession to Hiao Wên Wang. After a reign of but three days this ruler (if we venture to give him the title) died, yielding up his scarcely occupied throne to Prince *I Jên*, who took the name of *Chiang Hsiang Wang*. The chief minister of this sovereign was a former traveling merchant of the name of Lü Pu-wei who became known, first as *literatus* and then as counselor. As *literatus* he had such confidence in his own ability that he suspended a thousand pieces of gold at the gates of his house as a reward to any person who could better his composition by the addition or omission of a single word. Such a temptation, hardly to be resisted by any modern critic, apparently fell in the way of no literary opponent. As minister Lü Pu-wei betrayed his master's confidence by an intrigue with the Queen which resulted in the birth of the

Prince Chêng, afterwards the famous First Emperor. Chiang banished his minister but adopted the boy, who was left to fill the throne, made vacant by his adopted father's death, at the age of thirteen. The uncertainty about his birth continued to be a stumbling block to some, and later on became a convenient tool for his enemies and detractors. It makes no difference to the real greatness of "the Napoleon of China."

CH'IN SHIH HUANG TI. About a generation before the end of the Chou dynasty a certain politician was advising one of the feudal Kings to make peace with another with whom he was then engaged in hostilities. "I saw this morning," he said, "on the beach a mussel open its shell to sun itself. Immediately an oyster catcher thrust in its bill and as promptly the mussel closed its shell and held the bird fast. 'If it doesn't rain soon,' said the oyster catcher, 'there will be a dead mussel.' 'And,' replied the mussel, 'if you don't get out of this soon there will be a dead oyster catcher.' Meanwhile up came a fisherman and caught them both." "I greatly fear," added the politician, "that the Ch'in state will be our fisherman." The fear proved only too well grounded. In *Ch'in Shih Huang Ti* China found a ruler who had the Imperial idea beyond any of his predecessors. Beyond the doubt as to the legitimacy of his birth there is something puzzling about his racial affinity. The theory has even been ventured that he was in some way connected with that Mauryan dynasty which at this very time was ruling in India in the person of Açoka. The latter was successfully achieving in India what Shih

Huang Ti attempted to accomplish in China, even to the religious revolution which accompanied the consolidation of the Empire. It would be strange indeed could we but accept this theory as proven, but all that can be said here is that the portrait of the first great Chinese Emperor presents some striking contrasts to the usual Chinese type. In any case, as we have said above, his greatness is incontestable, in spite of the fact that the Confucian literati endeavored to do for him by abuse what the Brahmins succeeded in doing for Açoka by ten centuries of silence. They called him bastard, debauchee and fool, but they cannot blind us to the tremendous importance of the work he did.

The First Emperor. Three special claims to distinction must be conceded to Ch‘in Shih Huang Ti. The first of these is in the use of the name *China* as a designation for the whole country. While not certain, it is in the highest degree probable, that it was on account of the prestige of the first Emperor's name and state that the use of the term China came about. In any case, Ch‘in Shih Huang Ti was the country's first real conqueror, going about the matter deliberately and accomplishing his aim thoroughly. The two great generals whose assistance was most helpful were *Wang Tsien* and *Li Sin.* The former subdued the state of *Chao* in B. C. 229 and was then ordered to proceed to the subjugation of Ch‘u. He demanded an army of 600,000 men for the task, but Li Sin, his rival, offered to do it with only 200,000 and was, consequently, badly defeated. Wang Tsien then gained his point, collected the largest army China had ever seen and, wearing out his adversary through his Fabian tactics, brought the campaign to a successful conclusion in B. C. 222. By B. C. 221 the Emperor was master of all China and assumed the title of *Shih Huang Ti*, or *first Emperor*, proclaiming that all his successors should date their reigns from his and be known as Second, Third, and so on, "even to the ten thousandth generation." Alas! for the vanity of human pride!

THE BUILDING OF THE GREAT WALL. This stupendous rampart was built, from the Liaotung Gulf to the western extremity of the Province of Shensi, in pursuance of the policy of protecting the northern boundary from the Tatars. The enterprise necessitated the labors of tens of thousands of men for many years, although in some places the work was limited to connecting portions of already existing walls. The general in charge was Mêng T'ien who, on the death of his master and the murder of his successor, committed suicide. It is strange that to this famous builder of the Great Wall of China should be also assigned the invention of the hair brush used for writing. Huge as the work of constructing the Great Wall undoubtedly was, it was only one portion of a general plan for connecting the various parts of the Empire with good roads and so making the defense more practical than it had hitherto been. Indeed, one's admiration of the Wall is even excelled by the feeling of wonder at the many other great engineering undertakings, the piercing of mountains, the leveling of hills, the bridging of rivers, by means of which the conquests of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti were made secure and the imperial unity consolidated. Other notable works include the erection of the great palace of A-Fong Kung, near Hienyang, on which it is said 700,000 criminals and prisoners were employed at forced labor. "The central hall was of such dimensions that ten thousand persons could be assembled within it and banners sixty feet in height might be unfurled below." Another was the building of the many storied tower in the province of Shantung, overtopping the hills and commanding an extensive view of the Eastern Sea.

THE BURNING OF THE BOOKS. The real reason for the destruction of the Confucian books and for the persecution of the literati may never be known, as the accounts which have survived contradict one another. Some say that the Confucianists reproved the Emperor for unfilial conduct in the banishment of his mother. Others assert that it was the Emperor's ambition to be known as the originator of all that was great in Chinese history and wanted no prior records in his way. A quite plausible account, given by the historian Ssŭ-ma Ch‘ien relates that a certain Minister of learning reproaching the Emperor for breaking down the feudal system, *Li Ssŭ* (known as the inventor of the *Lesser Seal* [1] style of writing) sprang to the defense and warmly advocated the destruction of everything which belonged to the past as a policy which would stimulate the progress of the Empire. We may well conceive that the brilliant conqueror found the Confucian system rather too inelastic for his own grandiose and imperial projects and that he was genuinely glad to find an excuse for ridding himself of the "dead hand" of the great Sage and of the precedents furnished by the "Model Emperors." In any event, his procedure was sufficiently sweeping. The Confucian Classics (with the single exception of the Yi King) and all other literature (with the exception of works on agriculture, medicine and divination) were so thoroughly destroyed that when the Han dynasty assumed the task of reviving the old studies, copies of the classics were with difficulty discovered in the walls of houses, or reintegrated from the memories of men. It is said that K'ung Fu, a descendant of Confucius in the ninth degree, was one who had preserved hidden in the walls of the ancestral house copies of the old books. But, as observed above, it has been possible in our own day for writers to deny the very existence of the Confucian classics prior to the time of the historian Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien who is charged with having forged them. The literati shared with the books the wrath of the tyrant and some hundreds of them (four hundred and sixty, to be precise) are said to have been put to death under circumstances of such revolting cruelty that the Emperor's own eldest son felt compelled to protest. For this interposition he was banished and all those who resisted the surrender of their books were branded and forced to work for four years on the Great Wall.

Taoist Propaganda. The persecution of Confucianism went hand in hand with an ardent advocacy of Taoism. Shih Huang Ti's belief in this religion was perhaps in large part the result of his desire to obtain the coveted Elixir Vitæ, but a whole mass of more or less interesting fable has associated itself with the Emperor's devotion to the cult, now far removed from its first purity. It is of this reign that the story is told of the Taoist Rip Van Winkle which bears so close a resemblance to the American version that it may be worth the re-telling. It concerns the patriarch *Wang Chih* who having wandered in the mountains of Ch'ü-chou to gather firewood entered a grotto in which some aged men were seated intent upon a game of chess. He laid down his ax and looked on at their game, in course of which one of the men handed to him a thing in shape and size like a date-stone, telling him to put it in his mouth. No sooner had he tasted it than he became oblivious of hunger and thirst! After some time had elapsed, one of the players said: "It is long since you came here; you should go home now!" Whereupon, Wang Chih, proceeding to pick up his ax, found that its handle had moldered into dust. On repairing to his home he found that centuries had passed since the time when he had left it for the mountains and that no vestige of his kinsfolk remained.[2]

Another Taoist patriarch, An Ki-shêng, visited the Emperor B. C. 221 and conversed with him for three days and three nights. The result of the interview was the sending of the famous expedition to the Eastern seas.

"THE ISLES OF THE BLEST." Ch'in Shih Huang Ti "allowed himself to be persuaded into the belief that in the Eastern sea there were golden Islands of the Blest, where dwelt genii, whose business and delight it was to dispense to all visitors to their shores a draught of immortality compounded of the fragrant herbs which grew in profusion around them."[3] Twice over was an expedition dispatched to discover these "Isles of the Blest." Su She and Lu Ngao, Taoist magicians, were put in command and several thousands of girls and young men accompanied the explorers. Both attempts, however, ended in failure. The expeditions were, it is said, driven back by contrary winds, though it is highly probable that Japan benefited by some access of population.[4] So great a monarch as Shih Huang Ti may well have feared the shadow of death and craved a few more years in which to continue his work, but "le breuvage de l'immortalité" was not for him, and he died B. C. 210. Many of his wives and many of his warriors, in accordance with the old Scythian custom, were buried alive near his tomb that he, who had employed so many on earth, might not want his servants in the grave.

THE TOMB OF SHIH HUANG TI. Of this tomb, excavated in a mountain, we have the following account: "Upon the floor, which had a foundation of bronze, was a map of the Empire with rivers of quicksilver; the roof was studded with the constellations. All around were mechanical arrangements for shooting stones and arrows immediately upon the appearance of any intruders; while huge candles of seal's fat, calculated to burn for an indefinite period, threw their light upon the scene. When the passages leading to the chamber had been stopped up, and before the workmen who knew the secrets had come forth, the great outer gate was dropped, and they were all buried alive. The entrance was banked up with earth, and grass and plants were sown to conceal it from view."[5]

End of the Dynasty. The close of the Ch'in dynasty came almost simultaneously with the death of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti. The elder and stronger minded son, Fu Su, had been banished as a result of his protest against the massacre of the literati. The younger son, Hu Hai, was under the influence of an ambitious and masterful eunuch, Chao Kao, who weeded out the more independent and capable advisers by a device suggestive of Polonius.[6] He would present a stag to the Emperor and say, "Here is a horse." If any of the ministers said it was anything but a horse, their disgrace was sealed. "It is certainly a horse," said the weak and complaisant ones, and these remained. It is no wonder that the young Emperor, trained under such auspices as these, proved an easy victim to the wiles of the unscrupulous eunuch. Chao Kao, however, met his own fate soon afterwards and Hu Hai's semblance of power only lasted three years. Anarchy followed; even the wonderful tomb of the great conqueror was desecrated and destroyed. The secret chambers were rifled and the fine buildings razed to the ground by the general Hiang Yu. Nothing was left but the coffin and even this was shortly after burned, when a shepherd, seeking a lost sheep, dropped by accident his torch in the cavern and set fire to the dry and crumbling ruins which had been left. "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

NOTES

1. *The Lesser Seal* character was a modification of the Great Seal character which was so called because of its suitability for engraving on seals. The Lesser Seal endeavors to diminish the number of strokes and makes the writing simpler and more rapid. " The change," says Dr. Edkins, " was easily accomplished under an arbitrary and strong government such as China then had."

2. " Chinese Reader's Manual," p. 256.

3. R. K. Douglas.

4. In A. D. 540 (says Murdock, History of Japan I 104) there were over 7000 families in the neighborhood of Kawachi who were known as the Western Aya. They regarded themselves as descendants of the Ch'ins and were experts in sericulture.

5. Giles " Chinese Biographical Dictionary," p. 653.

6. " *Hamlet.* Do you see that cloud, that's almost in shape of a camel?
Polonius. By the mass, and 'tis like a camel indeed.
Ham. Methinks, it is like a weasel.
Pol. It is backed like a weasel.
Ham. Or like a whale?
Pol. Very like a whale."

Hamlet, Act III, Sc. 2.

CHAPTER X

THE HAN DYNASTY

B. C. 210—A. D. 220.

Kao Tsu — Lu Hou — Wu Ti — Expansion of the Empire — a description from Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien — the revival of learning — Pan Chao — The Eastern and Western Han — the introduction of Buddhism — the end of the Dynasty.

Kao Tsu. The dynasty of Han which lasted for four centuries and included the reigns of thirty-two Emperors was founded by the successful soldier of fortune, *Liu Pang.* Liu Pang was originally a peasant of the province of Kiangsu who made himself popular among his fellow-villagers by his good nature and courage and made himself wealthy by marriage with the woman who afterwards became notorious as the Empress Lu Hou. Chosen as the head of a band of insurgents Liu Pang gradually attracted to himself leaders of influence and ability, and, proclaiming himself Prince of Han, took advantage of the disturbed condition of the country at the close of the Ch'in dynasty to fight his way to supreme power. His principal opponent was his fellow general, Hiang Yu, a man of immense stature, strength and courage. Victory, however, fell to the lot of Liu Pang and the Empire recognized the victor who forthwith assumed the Yellow Robe under the title of *Kao Tsu.* The reign lasted about seven years and was marked by considerable wisdom and moderation.

LU HOU. Not so much can be said in favor of the reign which immediately followed. The widow of Kao Tsu terrorized the young prince, her son, who succeeded to the throne, until, at the end of seven years, he was driven into sheer imbecility and died. The masterful Empress then reigned alone and in her own right until her death in B. C. 180. It is the only instance of a female rule over China which is regarded by the historians as possessing a legitimate title. A more attractive personality is that of *Wên Ti,* who succeeded the stalwart Empress. The moderation and unselfishness of his character are illustrated by the story that he abandoned the building of his projected "*Dew Tower*" when he learned that its cost would be a hundred bars of gold. "I will not spend on this building," he said, "what will furnish ten households with a fortune."

WU TI. B. C. 140–87. The greatest of the Han sovereigns was undoubtedly the sixth of the dynasty, *Wu Ti,* whose long reign of fifty-four years was one of the most splendid in the whole history of China. He was an enthusiastic patron of literature and during his earlier years he did much to promote the study of the re-discovered Confucian classics. His proclamation, calling for men of genius to present themselves at court, met with a prompt response. Among those who came was the famous *Tung-fang So.* This worthy replied to the imperial invitation in this wise: "I am now twenty-two years old;

I am 9 feet 3 inches high; my eyes are like swinging pearls; my teeth like a row of shells. I am brave as Mêng Pên, prompt as Ch'ing Chi, pure as Pao Shu-ya, devoted as Wei Shêng. I consider myself fit to be an high officer of State and with my life in my hand await your Majesty's reply." He was received, and rose to the office of Censor. On many occasions he kept the Emperor amused by his wit, but on one occasion drank a potion of Immortality, brewed by some Taoist sage for his Majesty's own use, and was thereupon condemned to death. He got out of the scrape by exclaiming: "If the potion was genuine, you cannot kill me, whereas, if it was not, what harm has been done?" Wu Ti displayed in his later life a great devotion to the superstitions and magical rites of Taoism and is said to have been the author of the so-called "Dew-receiving Vase" in the belief that the drinking of the dew thus collected would secure immortality. His addiction to Taoism may have given rise to the legends of the visits of the fairy Queen, Hsi Wang Mu, the Queen Mother of the West, already referred to in connection with the reign of Mu Wang. Wu Ti initiated a series of Imperial pilgrimages on the most gorgeous scale to perform sacrificial rites at the various mountain shrines.

Expansion of the Empire. Wu Ti's real fame rests upon the remarkable expansion of the Empire westward which his reign witnessed. He found on his accession that the Empire was seriously threatened by the growing power of the Hiung-nu, or Huns, and labored hard (not without much success) to oppose their advances through his own generals and by means of alliance with the Yueh-chih, or Indo-Scythians, against the common enemy. Many famous generals come to the front in this memorable conflict, a conflict which had the most far-reaching results both for Europe and Asia. There was *Chang K'ien*, who "pierced the void" by penetrating to the extreme west, from whence he brought back not only the laurels of victory but the Persian grape vine. There was *Li Kuang*, victorious in seventy battles against the Huns, who committed suicide after his last victory, because the Khan, for whose capture he had pledged his word, managed to escape. There was also *Li Kuang-li*, who in B. C. 104 carried his victorious banners to the borders of Persia. Not less notable again was the ambassador *Su Wu* who in B. C. 100 was sent on a mission to the Hun chief and there detained a prisoner for nineteen years. Compelled to tend the flocks of the Huns in the deserts around Lake Balkash, he retained all those years his rod of office which he used as a shepherd's staff. His captivity was at last discovered when a wild goose, with a message from the home-sick exile fastened to its feathers, was shot by the Emperor in his imperial hunting grounds. Su Wu returned at last, B. C. 81, a prematurely old and broken man, but an immortal example of loyalty and patriotic spirit.

GUARDING THE FRONTIER. Remarkable testimony to the thoroughness with which the work of caring for the interests of the empire in the western marches is afforded by Dr. Aurel Stein in his recent book, "The Ruins of Desert Cathay." Here we are brought face to face with the wall which was built to exclude China's most formidable foreign foes. The evidences are still plain, in the long, straight furrow which is still discernible some twenty feet from the line of the wall, of the vigilance with which the sentinels fulfilled their duty when they mounted guard. The very stacks of reeds which were kept along the road to serve as material for fire signals have been discovered in the sand, where for two millenniums they were buried. Newly discovered documents give exact details of the campaigns, together with an account of all the provisions made for transforming an army of conquest into an agricultural colony. We know what clothing was served out to the soldiers and what their weapons were, down to the number of arrows allowed to each quiver. We enter into all the intimate circumstances of the daily life of the colony and can appreciate to the full the old poem which Dr. Stein quotes, translated by M. Chavannes:

"Every ten *li* a horse starts;
Every five *li* a whip is raised high;
A military order of the Protector General of the
Transfrontier regions has arrived
With news that the Huns were besieging Chiu Chuan;
But just then the snowflakes were falling on the hills
Along which the barrier stretches,
And the signal fires could raise no smoke."[1]

Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien on the Han Dynasty. The general trend of the history of China under the Han dynasty has never been more vividly and comprehensively set forth than in the following passage from the great historian of the period, Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien. The quotation, though a long one, will readily be excused.

" When the House of Han arose the evils of their predecessors had not passed away. Husbands still went off to the wars. The old and the young were employed in transporting food. Production was almost at a standstill and money became scarce. So much so that even the Son of Heaven had not carriage horses of the same color; the highest civil and military authorities rode in bullock-carts and the people knew not where to lay their heads.

" At this period the Huns were harassing our northern frontier, and soldiers were massed there in large bodies; in consequence of which the food became so scarce that the authorities offered certain rank and titles of honor to those who could supply a given quantity of grain. Later on, drought ensued in the west, and in order to meet necessities of the moment, official rank was again made a marketable commodity, while those who broke the laws were allowed to commute their penalties by money payments. And now horses began to reappear in official stables and in palace and hall signs of an ampler luxury were visible once more.

" Thus it was in the early days of the dynasty, until some seventy years after the accession of the House of Han. The Empire was then at peace. For a long time there had been neither food nor drought, and a season of plenty had ensued. The public granaries were well stocked; the Government treasuries were full. In the capital strings of *cash* were piled in myriads, until the very strings rotted, and their tale could no longer be told. The grain in the Imperial storehouses grew moldy year by year. It burst from the crammed granaries and lay about until it became unfit for human food. The streets were thronged with horses belonging to the people, and on the highways whole droves were to be seen, so that it became necessary to prohibit the public use of mares. Village elders ate meat and drank wine. Petty Government clerkships and the like lapsed from father to son; the higher offices of state were treated as family heirlooms. For there had gone abroad a spirit of self-respect and reverence for the law, while a sense of charity and of duty towards one's neighbor kept man aloof from disgrace and shame.

"At length, under lax laws, the wealthy began to use their riches for evil purposes of pride and self-aggrandizement and oppression of the weak. Members of the Imperial family received grants of land, while from the highest to the lowest, every one vied with his neighbor in lavishing money on houses, and appointments, and apparel, although beyond the limit of his means. Such is the everlasting law of the sequence of prosperity and decay."[2]

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING. We have already alluded to the renewed interest in letters which marked the accession of the Han dynasty. In spite of the fact that the writing brush or pencil had been invented under the Ch'ins, the sword in that period was far mightier than the pen, as the four hundred and sixty literati learned to their cost. Even during the Han period the expansion of the Empire involved, as we have seen, the employment of large military forces. But, within the borders of China itself, until after the commencement of the Christian era, the Hans succeeded in keeping the peace. It is a fact often commented upon that the Chinese Emperor at the date of the birth of Christ was *P'ing Ti*, "the Emperor of Peace." Naturally, the first of the Hans, the man who had hewn his way to the throne with the sword, was at first inclined to the opposite course. "I won the Empire on horseback," he exclaimed to his ministers. "Yes," they replied, "but you cannot govern it on horseback." So it proved, and the new era showed a most praiseworthy desire to conform to the ideals of the old literati. In spite of the fact that the Emperors still patronized Taoism, a vigorous search was made for the missing Confucian books, and, as already noted, they were fortunately recovered from the walls of the Confucian family dwelling place and from the memory of Fu Shêng who, although ninety years old, repeated the precious classics word for word to the officials sent to consult him. Some chapters, however, are said to have been lost irrecoverably. At least when the Chinese are reproached for lack of knowledge in some branch of modern science, the reply may be, "It was all in the lost chapters of Confucius."

Renewed interest was felt in almost every branch of literature. In *History*, Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien, "The Herodotus of China," flourished and wrote the famous "Historical Records" from which we have already given an extract. It was published about B. C. 90 from materials collected by the author's father. From this work we derive the information that Wu Ti "offered rewards of money and silk for well written copies of ancient works."

Lexicography was created at this time as a science by the scholar Hsü Shên, who compiled the famous Shuo Wên, a collection of comments upon and explanations of about ten thousand Chinese characters. The work is of the very highest value to the student of ideography. In *Poetry* also we have some notable names. The most interesting to Western readers is *Chia I*, who has been called the "Edgar Allan Poe of China," because of the undoubted resemblance which exists between his "*White Owl Ode*" and "*The Raven*." We can only quote here the first stanza, but the resemblance is maintained throughout the poem.

"In dismal, gloomy, crumbling halls,
Betwixt moss-covered, reeking walls,
An exiled poet lay —
On his bed of straw reclining,
Half-despairing, half-repining —
When athwart the window sill,
In flew a bird of omen ill,
And seemed inclined to stay." [3]

The Chinese assert that the Shi King, or Book of Odes, constitutes the roots of the Chinese tree of poetry, that during the Han dynasty it burst into foliage, and that during the T'ang dynasty it came into full bloom.

As an illustration of the value attached to literature at this epoch the case may be cited of the writer *Yang Hsiung*, B. C.–A. D. 18, to whom a rich merchant offered 100,000 cash for the mere mention of his name. Yang replied that a stag in a pen or an ox in a cage would be as much out of place as the name of a man who had nothing but money in a true work of literature.

It is probable that the invention of paper somewhere about this time (although possibly earlier) had a good deal to do with the stimulated production of books. The invention is ascribed to the Marquis Tsao "from the inner bark of trees, ends of hemp, old rags, and fishing nets." "The Annals of the Han Dynasty" tell us that the Imperial Library at this time possessed 3,123 volumes on the classics, 2,705 volumes of philosophy, 1,318 of poetry, 790 on warfare, 2,528 on mathematics and 868 on medicine.[4]

Pan Chao. One scholar, among many, deserves special mention, since she, the lady *Pan Chao,* helps to remind us that not all famous Chinese women were engaged in seducing or tyrannizing over Emperors and bringing States to ruin. In the Chinese "Biographies of Famous Women" there are three hundred and ten ladies who are deemed worthy of mention. Among these a high place belongs to Pan Chao, *literata* and historian, and one of the principal ornaments of the age. She was married at the age of fourteen, but early became a widow. At once she set about occupying her widowhood usefully with historical studies and literary labors. Her brother, Pan Ku, was the Court historiographer, and her assistance was always generously given to him and by him generously acknowledged. Before, however, his history was complete, Pan Ku became involved in the downfall of the General Tou Hsien, and was cast into prison. Here he died of chagrin and it was then that the sister rose nobly to the occasion. With the kind help of the Emperor she set to work to revise and publish her brother's writings. The result was "The Book of Han" which includes the history of twelve Emperors of the dynasty. As a reward the lady Pan was made Mistress of Poetry, Eloquence and History for the Empress, and her example was highly commended to the ladies of the Court. A work of Pan Chao's own pen which attained great celebrity was the book entitled, "Lessons for the Female Sex."

THE EASTERN AND WESTERN HAN. The history of the Han dynasty must be divided into two portions. The earlier or Western Han, as it is called, lasted from B. C. 206 to A. D. 25 and was mainly a period of prosperity and peace at home and military success abroad. It was in this period that the great generals carried the arms of China into Western Asia, caused the banners of the Eastern Empire to meet the banners of Rome on the shores of the Caspian, and made a way for the merchants of China to carry their silk and iron into the markets of Europe. The Western Han had their capital in the city of Changan. The Later or Eastern Hans removed the capital to Loyang and maintained their sway from A. D. 25 to A. D. 220. The first ruler of the line, *Liu Hsiu*, made himself popular in a time of famine by selling corn to the people at a cheap rate. Then, taking up arms against his Emperor, he fought a series of bloody battles and ascended the throne under the title of *Kuang Wu Ti.* The period is mainly one of unrest and decadence, although it includes the life of Yang Chên, "The Confucius of the West," famous for the response made to those who tempted him to obtain wealth by fraud. They told him that no one would know of it, to which he answered, "Heaven knows it, Earth knows it, you know it, I know it; how say you then that no one will know it?" Mention also should be made of that sturdy old warrior, Ma Yüan, known as the "Generalissimo Queller of the Waves," who from his youth up was a faithful defender of the national honor on the northern frontier. He rode erect in his saddle to the last, and died at an advanced age in the field against the barbarian tribes of Hunan. "It is more meet," he said, "that a commander be brought to his home as a corpse wrapped in his horse's hide than that he should die in his bed surrounded by boys and girls."

Introduction of Buddhism. The most important event in the history of the Empire of the Eastern Hans is the introduction of Buddhism about A. D. 67. Traditions exist of an earlier acquaintance in China with the religion of Gautama. One story speaks of the coming in B. C. 217 of an Indian priest, who is called Li Fang, with seventeen companions. Another tells us that one of the Han generals, Ho Ch'ü-ping, after gaining brilliant victories in Turkestan, about B. C. 123, brought back as a trophy a golden image which has been supposed an image of a Buddha. The commonly accepted account, however, connects the first proclamation of the Indian faith with the second Eastern Han Emperor, *Ming Ti* (Liu Chuang), who reigned from A. D. 58 to 76. This king had a dream in which he saw a golden image standing in the palace court yard with two arrows in its right hand. The dream, interpreted by his brother, was understood to refer to a great ruler in the West. Possibly the interpreter had already heard of the great victories gained by Buddhism in Central Asia and connected the two arrows with the ideograph for *Fu* [5]— the Chinese name for Buddha. Ming Ti at once sent his emissaries, eighteen in number, to learn about the faith of Sakya Muni. They returned in A. D. 67, accompanied by two Indian teachers, Kashiapmadanga and Gobharana, who brought with them the books and images necessary for the propagation of the new religion. A temple was built within the walls of the capital, Loyang (the present Honanfu), and in this way Buddhism obtained its footing in the Celestial Empire.[6]

For some time progress was very slow, but from the fourth century onward (if we may be allowed so far to anticipate) the Chinese were permitted to take vows as monks, and some of these monks became famous as travelers and scholars.[7] Of these we shall speak in due course.

The End of the Dynasty. The last years of the Eastern Han dynasty were years of almost unintermittent turbulence. The commander of the forces, Tung Cho, was summoned to the capital by the Empress' brother, Ho Tsin, in order to deliver the young Emperor out of the control of the palace eunuchs. He arrived at Loyang only to find Ho Tsin murdered and at once set himself to gain the supreme control. The eunuch faction was overcome, the Emperor and his brother seized, and the latter, under the name of *Hsien Ti,* was chosen as the puppet to occupy the throne. From this moment Tung Cho displayed an almost unexampled ferocity of temper. Among other acts of tyranny, he deported the whole population of Loyang to the older capital of Changan, and burned the whole of the deserted buildings over an area of fifty square miles. Nemesis overtook him in the form of a conspiracy which led to his assassination in A. D. 192.

The most prominent figure in this conspiracy was *Ts'ao Ts'ao*, a soldier of obscure origin who, immediately after Tung Cho's death, seized and imprisoned the boy Emperor and assumed royal power under the title of the Duke of Wei.

Meanwhile his pretensions to power were most energetically opposed by another famous soldier of the time, *Liu Pei*, a man who had risen from the position of a seller of straw mats and sandals and was now loyally supported by two warrior brothers and a sagacious statesman. The statesman was *Chu-ko Liang*, who has, in explanation of the celerity of his movements, been credited with anticipating certain modern inventions, through the mention of "oxen of wood and mechanical horses." Some, however, suppose that these magical machines were nothing but — wheelbarrows! The two brothers were Chang Fei and *Kuan Yü*. The latter is now better known as *Kuan Ti*, the Chinese God of War. He was in early life a seller of bean curd, and obtained deification on account of his bravery. Beheaded in A. D. 219, he was canonized under the Sungs in A. D. 1128 and was made a god under the Mings in A. D. 1594. By the help of such auxiliaries Liu Pei established himself as ruler in the present province of Szechwan and founded a short-lived dynasty known as the Minor Han or Shu Han. But it is time to take leave of the Hans and glance over the period of anarchy to which this (on the whole) brilliant dynasty gave place.

NOTES

1. See Stein, "Ruins of Desert Cathay," 1912. I 387, II 108, 111, 149, 153.

2. Giles, " History of Chinese Literature," pp. 104-5.

3. For whole poem see Dr. W. P. Martin.

4. R. K. Douglas, " The Literature of China," p. 82.

5. The Ideograph *Fu* is composed of the symbols for "*man*" and " a bow with two arrows." Another legend speaks of gorgeous and resplendent colors in the western sky evening after evening until the expectant King and people concluded it was Heaven's hand of glory beckoning to the west.

6. For a very trustworthy account of the introduction of Buddhism into China read Hackmann, "Buddhism as a Religion," pp. 77 ff.

7. See Beal, " Buddhist Records of the Western World."

CHAPTER XI

FOUR CENTURIES OF ANARCHY

A. D. 220–618.

The three Kingdoms — the Western Tsin — the Northern Sung — the dynasty of Ch‘i — the dynasty of Sui — the invasion of Korea — the literature of the period — the Buddhist pilgrims.

The Three Kingdoms. For nearly four centuries after the downfall of the Han dynasty we have an illustration of the proverb, “For the iniquities of a land many are the princes thereof.” So rapid are the changes of royal line during this period that we are justified in applying to it the word “anarchy.” For a few years, from A. D. 220 to 280, China was practically divided into three independent kingdoms. There was that of the Wei, founded by Ts‘ao Ts‘ao, in the north; the Shu Han, founded by Liu Pei, in the province of Szechwan, and the Wu in the south. The Wei dominion was further broken up into the Northern, Western, and Eastern Wei. Of the time of the Three Kingdoms there is little that seems worth recording, though, in passing, one may pay a tribute of admiration for the shrewdness of one of the rulers who “proclaimed that in all future cases of litigation the decision should be referred to the ordeal of archery.” In this way he produced a nation of bowmen who gave a good account of themselves in a conflict with the state of Tsin. Of one of the last of the series, too, a delightful story is told of how he lured on his exhausted and thirsty soldiers in a certain campaign by assuring them of the nearness of an orchard of ripe plums. The thought of ripe plums made their mouths water to such an extent that they were no longer thirsty and were saved through the deception.[1]

The remainder of the period may be dealt with in the brief story of the dynasties now to be described, although there is a certain amount of inevitable overlapping.

WESTERN TSIN. A. D. 265–428. The Western Tsin dynasty includes fifteen Emperors, some of whom were respectable, and one of them, *Wu Ti* (a very common appellation signifying Conqueror), a ruler of promise.[2] He reigned from A. D. 265 to 290 and is said to have received an embassy from Theodosius, brother of the Roman Emperor Heraclius. However, after he had established himself upon the throne, Wu Ti became careless and luxurious, and is described as spending much of his time with troups of women in the palace gardens riding on little cars drawn by sheep.[3] The times were evidently very unsettled, and at one time there were as many as eighteen little sovereigns disputing among themselves for the high prize of imperial dignity. The annalist writes hopelessly that "children of concubines, priests, old women and nurses administered the government."

It was under these conditions that an attempt was made to establish a new religion, the cult of the Void and Nothingness, a species of Stoicism designed, so it is said, to strengthen the soul for the bearing of adversity, and to promote contempt for the honor and possessions of the world.

THE NORTHERN SUNG. A. D. 420–479. The Sung of the North contributed nine Emperors, of whom the first, *Liu Yü*, was another ex-seller of straw sandals. The dynasty must not be confounded with the great Sung dynasty of later times. There was nothing great about this particular line and all that need here be said is that these nine Emperors enjoyed but a barren honor, compassed as they were with trouble, rebellion and fear of assassination.

THE CH'I DYNASTY. A. D. 479–502. The Ch'i dynasty includes the reigns of five sovereigns who altogether retained their small semblance of power for just twenty-three years. Of one of these the following story is told: He was very fond of the chase and, riding one day through a fine field of wheat, he expressed his pleasure at the sight. Thereupon, one of his friends replied, "You are right, but do you know the pains it has cost? If you reflected that this field is watered by the sweat of the people, I am very sure that you would not be so heedless in passing through with your hunting parties." The king at once saw the force of the reproof and forthwith abandoned the pleasures of the chase for the more human asceticisms of Buddhism. Another Emperor of the same line is said to have been so studious that he was never seen without a book in his hand, even when engaged in hunting. Perhaps it was this ill-timed devotion to learning which contributed to the downfall of the dynasty. The last of this line had a concubine who is said to be responsible for the atrocity of foot binding. "Every footstep makes a lily grow," exclaimed the fond husband as he gazed adoringly upon the diminutive feet of P'an Fei.[4]

THE LIANG DYNASTY. A. D. 502–557. The founder of this line of short-lived fame, a line which includes the stories of but four Emperors, believed that all the misfortunes of the realm were due to the spread of foreign religions, such as Taoism and Buddhism, and to the neglect of the precepts of Confucius. To redress the balance he established schools and colleges everywhere at which lectures might be delivered on the life and teachings of China's sage, and reverence paid to his name. Before the end of his reign, however, the king underwent a complete change of heart and became so entirely devoted to Buddhism that, after twenty-six years of rule, he resigned the throne to become a monk. The change was due, it is said, to the great development at this particular time of intercourse with India. Many vessels plied between the coasts of China and the ports of India and Ceylon; ambassadors arrived frequently from the various kings of Hindustan, and wandering monks visited the Western kingdoms bringing back pictures, images and books of devotion. It was this king who, perhaps for the first time in history, abolished the penalty of capital punishment. Historians differ as to the effect produced by this unusual leniency.

That there were many exceptions to the rule of general depravity, which the external fortunes of the Empire tend to emphasize, is evident from some of the stories told of individuals in this period. For example, there is the tale of the minister who committed suicide by starving himself rather than break the oath of allegiance he had sworn to the preceding dynasty. There is also the story of a young man who gave himself up to be executed in the room of his father, a magistrate who had been condemned on account of certain crimes which had been committed within his jurisdiction. The dynasty went down to defeat like the rest, and we have the spectacle presented to us of the defeated monarch mounting a white horse, after the capture of his capital, and riding forth to give himself up to a cruel death at the hands of the victor.

The Sui Dynasty. A. D. 581–618. The reigns of three sovereigns make up the story of the Sui dynasty. The founder was *Yang Chien* who took the throne name of *Wên Ti*, or Lettered Emperor (a designation only less common than that of Wu Ti, or conqueror). His son, Yang Kuang, was evidently a ruler of more than the ordinary vigor, though of execrable private character. He is said to have adorned the trees in his park in winter time with silken leaves and flowers, and to have well-nigh exterminated the birds to provide down for his cushions. To greater purpose he labored at the construction of canals connecting China's great river systems, the present Grand Canal. The cruelty with which he pressed even women into his service as laborers in this undertaking goes far towards canceling any credit he may thereby have won as a public benefactor. He reigned sixteen years and succeeded in bringing some degree of order out of chaos. He promulgated a new law code and attempted to stratify society in four castes, somewhat after the Indian manner. If not personally worthy of the literary title, Wên Ti, he evidently appreciated literature and encouraged learning and the formation of libraries, though he sought to diminish the number of small and inefficient colleges in favor of the large and more important establishments of the capital cities. He set a hundred scholars to work upon an edition of the classics, and was the first to appoint the examination for the degree known as *chin shih.* His military exploits include expeditions against the Turks and invasions of Korea and Tongking which are regarded as successful or unsuccessful according to the point of view. He undoubtedly brought back much treasure, but the struggle with Korea, whatever Chinese accounts may say on the subject, ended in the triumph of the weaker combatant. In A. D. 598 China had sent, it is said, 300,000 men to conquer Korea, but failed. Yang renewed the attempt in compaigns which lasted from A. D. 611 to 614. The accounts state that an army of over a million men, in twenty-four divisions, was employed, as well as a considerable naval force. The invasion was once again unsuccessful, partly because of the breaking out of rebellions in China itself. In A. D. 617 there were as many as seven usurpers at various points and in the following year Yang was assassinated. He was succeeded by his grandson, the young prince T'ung, who soon afterward fell a victim to the ambition of his chief minister, Wang Shih-ch'ung, by whom he was poisoned. The pathetic story is told that, when the boy was about to drink the fatal potion, he prayed to the Buddha that he might never be reborn an Emperor. After this tragedy the troubled period comes to an end, giving place to the glorious dynasty of T'ang.

LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD. Literature during these wild and turbulent centuries was not without its great names. These appear chiefly under the category of poetry, but the poets of the time were in many respects all too like the time itself. In the earlier part of the epoch there were the "*Seven Scholars of the Chien An*," to whom must be added a bard who was also a Minister and a rather important figure in the history of his age. On one occasion he is said to have condemned himself to death for having permitted his horse to ride into a field of grain, but he satisfied his sense of justice, with but little inconvenience to himself, by having his hair cut off instead of his head. In the 3rd Century A. D. we have another bibulous and epicurean circle known as the "*Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove.*" One of these desired always to be accompanied by a servant with a bottle of wine and followed by another servant with a spade to bury him where he fell. Perhaps the average poet of the time was not unlike the one described in the lines of T'ao Ch'ien:

> "A scholar lives on yonder hill,
> His clothes are rarely whole to view,
> Nine times a month he eats his fill,
> Once in ten years his hat is new.
> A wretched lot! and yet the while
> He ever wears a sunny smile."

THE BUDDHIST PILGRIMS. A pleasant contrast to the all-too monotonous tale of insurrection and bloodshed is afforded by the story of the Buddhist pilgrims who left China during these centuries to visit the Holy Land of Buddhism and to bring back from thence sutras, images and pictures. Three of these pilgrims stand out conspicuously not less for the charm of their personality than for the splendid heroism of their journeys and for the literary value of the works they left behind. To *Fa Hsien*, who left China in A. D. 399 and traveled for fifteen years through Central Asia, India and Ceylon, returning by way of Java, we owe the discovery of the birthplace of Gautama near Kapilavastu and more than one other important identification made in recent years. Moreover, we owe to him the knowledge of a noble and grandly simple soul. "That I encountered danger," he says, "and trod the most perilous places, without thinking of, or sparing myself, was because I had a definite aim, and thought of nothing but to do my best in my simplicity and straightforwardness. Thus it was that I exposed my life where death seemed inevitable, if I might accomplish but a ten thousandth part of what I hoped."[5] *Sung*, whose date is A. D. 518, is perhaps less familiar to us and less intimately revealed. But *Hiouen Tsang* is another whose character and exploits arouse enthusiasm, while historians, archæologists and geographers of to-day benefit by his singular and painstaking accuracy. He falls really in the beginning of the T'ang period — his date is A. D. 629 — but he is most conveniently referred to here. As the patron saint of Dr. Aurel Stein, Hiouen Tsang has recently rendered distinguished service to Oriental knowledge by making possible the transfer of the treasures of the "Cave of a thousand Buddhas" to the British Museum. One other pilgrim should here be mentioned, though not a Chinaman. This was the great Bodhidharma, the twenty-eighth successor of Gautama and the first of the Buddhist patriarchs to come from India to China. He arrived in China A. D. 526 and henceforth China became the seat of the Buddhist patriarchate. Bodhidharma is the center of many fabulous stories, such as that which represents the tea plant as springing from the eyelids he cut off to keep himself awake, but he is quite important historically as the founder of one of the great sects of Northern Buddhism which have remained alive and powerful to the present day in China and Japan.[6]

NOTES

1. The romantic period of the "Three Kingdoms" is described in the famous novel of that name. The stories were no doubt in wide circulation long before they were written down. Murdoch says that the novel had even greater effect in Japan than in China. It became the favorite reading of the *samurai* and helped to mold the ideas of *bushido.*

2. This Wu Ti's proper name was Ssŭ-ma Yen. In spite of his name he allowed the army to run down and laid the Empire open to attacks by the Turkish tribes. Prior to his decline, however, he was a lover of literature and collected a large library.

3. A similar story is told of many Chinese Emperors. See Yule's "Marco Polo" II 405 and note.

4. The phrase is explained thus: The Emperor had flowers carved in relief on the soles of his favorite's shoes. He then caused gold leaf to be scattered in the streets with the result that when his mistress walked abroad she left the impression of flowers wherever she trod.

5. A charming translation of Fa Hsien's "Travels" is given by Dr. Legge (Clarendon Press, 1886). Beal's "Records of Western Kingdoms" contains the narratives of Fa Hsien, Sung and Hiouen Tsang.

6. For Bodhidharma (called in Japan Daruma) see Hackmann, "Buddhism as a Religion," pp. 80, 213, 239, 280; Griffis, "The Religion of Japan," pp. 208, 254.

CHAPTER XII

THE T'ANG DYNASTY

A. D. 618–905.

Kao Tsu — T'ai Tsung — introduction of foreign religions — the advance of learning — Social welfare — last years of T'ai Tsung — Kao Tsung — Chung Tsung — the Empress Wu Hou — Chung Tsung's successors — the reforms of Yang Yen — Wu Tsung — end of the dynasty — poetry under the T'ang dynasty — art — commerce — the population of China.

KAO TSU. A. D. 618–627. Li Yüan, the general through whose treachery the last of the preceding dynasties had been displaced, now took the throne of China under the name of *Kao Tsu*, thus inaugurating, however unpropitiously, the splendid line of the T'angs. His nine years' rule was disturbed by invasions by the Turks and Kao Tsu adopted the dangerous policy of buying off the invaders with money. The plan, so futile in the majority of the cases in which it has been employed, in this instance succeeded, at any rate long enough to afford the dynasty time to consolidate its strength and the Turkish power, correspondingly, time to wane. Having accomplished so much, Kao Tsu resigned the cares of state to his son, *Li Shih-min*, already famous as the Prince of T'ang.

T'ai Tsung. A. D. 627–650. Li Shih-min had already, as we have said, achieved fame. As a warrior he had fought against and vanquished the Turks whom it was his father's policy to subsidize. As a man he had already proved superior to the manifold temptations of the Court. Gazing upon the luxurious furnishings of the magnificent palaces and contrasting all this with the poverty of the people, he exclaimed, "Must a nation be thus exhausted in order that it may pander to the vanity and passions of one man?" On the abdication of Kao Tsu, he took the name of *T'ai Tsung* and made it one of the most glorious in the annals of China. He was able from the first to inspire a singular measure of devotion in the hearts of many brave soldiers, and the two heroes, Yu-ch'e Kung and Tsin Kung, who kept watch and ward at his chamber door, became the two worthies, "the guardians of the door," whose names, or the equivalent, are pasted on the doors of houses to the present day.

T'ai Tsung proceeded at once to make the name of China respected beyond the frontiers. He conquered the tribes westward to the Caspian, divided the subjugated realms into satrapies, after the Persian manner, and ruled vigorously over the whole vast Empire, until, before long, the men of the south were as proud to speak of themselves as *T'ang jên*, or "men of T'ang," as they had formerly been to describe themselves as "the sons of Han." Ambassadors came from far lands, including the kingdoms of India; the Greek Emperor sent a mission to his court, and scholars of renown continued their journeys from China to the Western Kingdoms.

INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS. T'ai Tsung was a beneficent patron of religion and missionaries of all faiths had reason to be grateful for his tolerance and even hospitality. In A. D. 621 came to China the first representatives of the religion of Zoroaster, driven out of the land of its birth by the fierce onslaughts of the hosts of Islam. A little later, in A. D. 628, came the emissaries of the persecuting creed, including, it is said, an uncle of the Prophet himself, and Muhamadans and Magians settled down peaceably in the capital, Singanfu, where both a fire-temple and a mosque were erected, by permission of the Emperor. Three years later, A. D. 631, came Olupun, the missionary of Nestorian Christianity, and the faith he taught was so generously welcomed and so readily accepted that when the famous *Inscription of Singanfu*[1] was set up in A. D. 781, it expressed the gratitude of large numbers of ecclesiastics, Chinese and Syrian, for the almost unprecedented success of the Christian faith in the Empire. The long list of names attached, in both Chinese and Syriac script, attests the reality of the work which had been accomplished. It is a remarkable fact, contrasting significantly enough with the religious strife of the west, that at this time in China the teachers of so many antagonistic creeds seem to have settled down in the center of the Empire, to live in harmony and concord. The remarkable interchange of influences from varied races and religions at this time is most interestingly illustrated in the great collection of documents which filled the cell at Tun-huang and made up what Dr. Stein calls his "polyglot temple library." One of the most interesting and significant is the *Manichean Confession*[2] which proves that the followers of Mani as well as those of Zoroaster and Muhamad had found a welcome in the China of the time.

THE ADVANCEMENT OF LEARNING. T'ai Tsung not only tolerated widely divergent forms of religion; he also patronized learning, founded a literary academy at the capital, promoted the publication of a splendid edition of the Classics, known as "the Thirteen King," and inaugurated the system of Civil Service Examinations in literature. He believed that the "ancient writings were accepted by all as the best instructors of the manners and tastes of the people," and was wont to say that "by using a mirror of brass you may see to adjust your cap; by using antiquity as a mirror, you may learn to foresee the rise and fall of Empires."

SOCIAL WELFARE. The Emperor was also sympathetically mindful of the social condition of the people. One day, paying a visit to the public prisons, he found two hundred and ninety criminals condemned to death. He at once sent them forth into the fields to assist in the harvest, accepting their word of honor to return when the work was done. To a man they justified their sovereign's trust and T'ai Tsung was so pleased at their fidelity that he forthwith set them free. Thereupon he made the rule that henceforth no Emperor should ratify a sentence of death until he had passed three days in abstinence, lest the lives of ignorant or innocent people should be sacrificed to the impulse or the passion of a moment.

A remarkable work is attributed to the Emperor on the Science of Government which is known as the "Golden Mirror." The extracts which have been translated for us by one of the old Jesuit missionaries, Du Halde, show that the title was not unworthily bestowed.

Not less worthy of fame than the Emperor was his beautiful wife, *Chang Sun.* When she was dying she gave utterance to the following memorable words: "Put no jewels in my coffin; let my head rest upon a wooden tile; and fasten my hair with wooden pins. Listen to no unworthy men and build no costly palaces. If you promise me these things I shall die happy."

THE LAST YEARS OF T'AI TSUNG. T'ai Tsung's life was all too short for the plans his ambition suggested, although a legend tells of the prolonging of his days by an alteration of the words of the Book of Fate. He is even said to have died and gone down into purgatory, but, like Hezekiah, King of Judah, he rebelled against the shortening of his days, and the figures were altered on the tablets of fate so that twenty years were added to his length of rule. Towards the end T'ai Tsung attempted the conquest of Korea but was obliged to leave the completion of this task to his successor. The great conqueror had, ere he died, the frequent experience of kings in disillusionment and disappointment. On several occasions his life was attempted, once by his own son. He was thus painfully reminded of the instability of all human power and learned, like others in later time, that "the path of glory leads but to the grave." Once, voyaging upon the river Wei, he is said to have exclaimed, "My children, the waves which float our bark are able to submerge it in an instant: assuredly the people are like the waves and the Emperor like the fragile bark." [3]

However, when T'ai Tsung died, his greatness was not unrecognized. The grief of the people knew no bounds and even the foreign envoys are said to have cut themselves with knives and lancets and sprinkled the dead Emperor's bier with their self-shed blood.

KAO TSUNG. A. D. 650-683. The reign of Kao Tsung is less notable for anything that concerns the Emperor himself than for the influence of that remarkable and most masterful woman, the Empress Wu Hou, whose career in many respects reminds us of that other strong Empress who controlled to so great a degree the destinies of China in the last years of the 19th Century. Wu Hou, in spite of her terrible cruelty, must be regarded as one of the great figures of Chinese history.

WU HOU. As a girl of twelve or fourteen, Wu Hou, or as she was then called Wu Chao, was taken from her humble home to a place in the harem of the great T'ai Tsung. On that Emperor's death she had nothing apparently to expect but the usual fate of life-long seclusion, and retired to a Buddhist nunnery, where she took the vows. The new king, however, Kao Tsung, was attracted by her and restored her to the palace. Here she soon supplanted the legitimate queen, whom she caused to be mutilated, and gradually usurped every high office of state, ruling for a while by taking part in the councils from behind a curtain and at length proceeding to extreme lengths as an uncontrolled and independent ruler. She even usurped the most exclusive prerogative of the Chinese Emperors, the right of sacrificing to Shang Ti. She filled the palace with her favorites and completely overbore her indolent husband. Her generals completed the conquest of Korea, defeated Khitans and Tibetans, and she herself ruled with vigor and success. Korea was placed under a governor and became to all intents and purposes a Chinese province, although natives were not excluded from civil and military office. Kao Tsung himself was remarkable for little beyond his devotion to Taoism and his interest in the propagation of this faith was not without result, but it is Wu Hou who ruled. On Kao Tsung's death, the heir, *Chung Tsung*, was ruthlessly set aside and in A. D. 690 Wu Hou had herself proclaimed as " Emperor " (literally it might be translated ' God Almighty ') of the Chou dynasty, assuming all the attributes and prerogatives of supreme power. In A. D. 705 a military conspiracy succeeded in displacing her from power and shortly afterwards this most masculine of Dowagers died at the age of 81. The superseded heir, *Chung Tsung*, was now at last permitted to take up the reins of Government.

CHUNG TSUNG. A. D. 705–710. The new king, who had hitherto suffered from the tyranny of a mother, was now destined to groan beneath the domination of his wife. This lady, *Wei Hou*, was desirous of emulating the career of her mother-in-law, and poor Chung Tsung was thus doubly cheated by fate. Our regret, however, is the less since he seems to have been a man of effeminate and vicious character, scarcely entitled to the sympathy of posterity. Apparently he only resisted turning over the Government to his wife, in order to bestow it upon his two daughters, the princesses Ngan-lo and T‘ai-p‘ing. He died eventually of poison in A. D. 610 and was succeeded by Jui Tsung. The queen met her fate in the following year, being put to death with many of her adherents.

The Successors of Chung Tsung. *Jui Tsung*, A. D. 710–713, reigned just long enough to reveal himself as a feeble and incapable inheritor of the T‘ang renown. *Hsüan Tsung*, commonly known as Ming Huang, who had taken a leading part in resisting the pretensions of Wei Hou, followed and reigned from A. D. 713 to 756. It was a long reign but troubled throughout by revolt within and foreign invasion from without. The wise counsel of the statesman Chang Chiu-ling, who presented his master with a treatise known as " the Golden Mirror for the Sovereign's birthday," might have averted many evils, had it been followed, but Hsüan Tsung did not take the hint. He had begun his reign with simple, even austere tastes, closing the silk factories and forbidding the ladies of the court to wear jewels or embroideries. But gradually the desire to establish a brilliant court possessed him. His patronage of literature and art took extravagant forms. Scenes of debauchery, encouraged by the favorite concubine, *Yang Kuei-fei*,[4] became frequent. The love of war led to expeditions which increased expenses and brought in return but scant measure of glory. On one occasion the Tibetans even succeeded in capturing and pillaging the capital. The responsibility has sometimes been laid upon the shoulders of a certain execrated minister, Li Lin-fu, who is described in the phrase, "honey on his lips and in his hand a sword," but the end came all the same to Hsüan Tsung in rebellion, flight and abdication. Compelled to witness the butchery of his mistress before his eyes he went into exile, leaving to his son the extrication of the Empire from confusion and to posterity the memory of a reign which has sometimes been compared with that of Louis XV of France. *Su Tsung* did his best from A. D. 756 to 762, but, in spite of the prowess of the renowned general Kuo Tzŭ-i, whose exploits cover the reigns of four successive Emperors, it was already manifest that the prestige of the T‘ang line was on the wane, and its former glories in danger of being forgotten. Weakling followed weakling upon the throne and the whole story is one inglorious and monotonous record of dissension, misrule, and impotent exposure to foreign foes.

THE REFORMS OF YANG YEN. A brief mention should be made, ere we leave the history of the T‘ang period, of an attempt made during the reign of the Emperor *Tê Tsung* (A. D. 780–805) to reform the then existing system of taxation. The official responsible for the effort was the Minister of State, *Yang Yen*, who was raised by the above-named Emperor from an inferior station. "The three existing forms of monetary and personal obligation towards the State, known respectively as land-tax, statutory labor, and payment in kind, were abolished, and in their stead a semi-annual collection of money-tax was introduced, an entirely new assessment throughout the Empire forming its basis."[5] The result, however, was not satisfactory, and the unsuccessful political economist was banished, and, before reaching his intended destination, strangled by the Emperor's order.

Wu Tsung. A. D. 841–847. Wu Tsung detaches himself a little from the other monarchs of the 9th Century and gains a certain sinister interest as the furious persecutor of Buddhism. He believed that the social weakness and military incapacity of the Empire was largely due to the multiplication of monasteries and nunneries and the consequent withdrawal of large numbers of men and women from the duties and responsibilities of civil life. Certainly there was something to be said for his view. The 8th Century had witnessed a remarkable revival of Buddhism with a corresponding tendency to the multiplication of monasteries. "Generals forsook their armies, ministers their portfolios, members of the Imperial family their palaces, and merchants their business and their families to build or dwell in monasteries away from the clash of arms, the cares of State, or the din and bustle of life."[6] The Chinese records state that four thousand six hundred monasteries were destroyed in this persecution and upwards of a quarter of a million monks and nuns sent back to the secular life. It is evident that not only Buddhists but Christians, Magians and Manicheans also were attacked by this outburst of intolerance and it is probable that it was through this persecution that the hopes inscribed upon the Nestorian tablet of Singanfu were so untimely blighted. The proscription of Buddhism appears, however, to have lasted but a few years, since we find that the monasteries were once again occupied and recognized under I Tsung in A. D. 860. The opportune finding of a relic of the Buddha, which was transported to the capital amid great manifestation of popular enthusiasm, had something to do, no doubt, with this change of policy in the direction of tolerance.

End of the Dynasty. To onlookers at this time the T'ang dynasty was plainly doomed. The Arab traders then at Canton compared the condition of China with that of the Macedonian Empire on the death of Alexander the Great. The general Li Ch'üan-chung, better known as Chu Wên, is found at the end of the 9th Century struggling against his ambitions on the one hand and yet hopeless of loyalty, wavering between the policy based on his respect for the past and that suggested by desire to make secure the future. He assassinated one monarch in order to place another, a mere infant, upon the throne. But the temptations and opportunities of power proved too strong for his loyalty to the T'angs and, hardly two years after, spite of the protests and warnings of his elder brother, Chu Wên proclaimed himself the first sovereign of a new dynasty, to be known in history as that of the *Later Liang*.

Poetry under the T'ang Dynasty. For many reasons the T'ang dynasty deserves the name of the Golden Era of Chinese history. Only a brief reference may here be made to several phases of this renown. Foremost in splendor is the *poetry* of the age. "Poetry," says a modern Chinese writer, "reached perfection under the T'angs." The "Complete Collection of the Poetry of the T'ang

Period" contains 48,900 poems in thirty volumes.

Li Po. Many of these poets were, as in the preceding age, men of disreputable character, such as *Wang Po,* who had to get drunk before he could write. But the age is represented also by two celebrated poets, *Tu Fu,* and (the most widely celebrated of all Chinese poets) *Li Po.* Li Po is one of the most interesting characters in Chinese literature. Endowed with every grace of person, a lover of wine and song, he went up confidently to the capital to compete for literary honors. But he refused to make the customary presents to the examiners, such as ordinarily ensured success. Consequently the examiners, one of whom was a brother of the Empress, treated him with contempt and pronounced his effort a failure. One said, "This scribbler is fit for nothing but to grind my ink." The other added, "He is good for nothing but to lace up my buskins." Li then and there registered a vow that the time should come when the insult should be avenged by the one examiner grinding *his* ink and the other lacing *his* buskins. The day came when this proud boast was fulfilled. Li, now a doctor of the Hanlin, in the presence of the Emperor commanded the First Minister of State, his quondam examiner, to rub his ink-stone, and the other, who was now General of the Guards, to lace up his buskins. Li Po, however, did not greatly enjoy the triumph of his talent, for after narrowly escaping the penalty of death for sedition, he drowned himself to escape the persecution of his enemies. He exclaimed as he jumped into the water: "I'm going to catch the moon in the midst of the sea."[7] A less romantic account of Li Po's end is that he was drunk and fell into the sea from leaning too far over the edge of the boat.

Tu Fu, who has been called the "Chatterton of China," likewise came to a tragic end. He "failed to distinguish himself at the public examinations, at which verse-making counts so much, but had nevertheless so high an opinion of his own poetry that he prescribed it as a cure for malarial fever." [8] Like so many of his companions of the muse, in China, he died of dissipation, or to put it more charitably, after starving for ten days during which he had nothing to eat but roots, he feasted too heartily on roast beef and white wine and died upon the steps of a temple. His collected works, like those of Li Po, are preserved in the Royal Library.[9]

Chang Chih-ho. Of an entirely different stamp was the Taoist philosopher, *Chang Chih-ho,* who called himself "The old Fisherman of the Mists and Waters." He spent his time in angling, but used no bait, his object not being to catch fish. When asked why he roamed about, Chang answered and said: "With the Empyrean as my home, the bright moon my companion, and the four seas my inseparable friends,— what mean you by roaming?" And when a friend offered him a comfortable home instead of his poor boat, he replied: "I prefer to follow the gulls into cloudland rather than bury myself beneath the dust of the world." [10]

Han Yü. A scholar, who deserves to be mentioned on other grounds, than that he was a celebrated poet, is *Han Yü,* described as foremost among the statesmen, philosophers, and poets of the T'ang dynasty, and one of the most venerated names in Chinese literature. As a philosopher he took a middle ground between those who with Confucius and Mencius maintained that the nature of man is innately good and those who believed it to be naturally depraved. His doctrine, we are told, found much acceptance. He was foremost among those who protested to the Emperor against the reverence paid to the alleged Buddha relic, mentioned above. For this candor he was banished, but he used his time of exile to good purpose. His labors for the civilization of the people of Kwangtung have been symbolized in the story of the expulsion of a gigantic crocodile which had been ravaging the province.

Art. Of the splendid art of the period some idea may be gained from a study of the pictures brought away from the oasis of Tun-huang in Eastern Turkestan by Dr. Stein. Many of them may now be seen in the British Museum. They deal largely with Buddhist subjects and are of a very high order of excellence.[11] The greatest painter of the period, indeed of all periods in China, was *Wu Tao-yüan*. No work at present exists which can with certainty be ascribed to him, but a Japanese picture in the British Museum, "The Death of Buddha," founded on one of his masterpieces, may give some idea of his originality and power.[12] The story is told that when men criticized adversely the famous picture of the "Western Paradise," Wu Tao-yüan answered his critics by stepping calmly into the Paradise which he had painted, and so disappeared from the sight of men.

The pottery, too, of the T'ang period is remarkable for its artistic worth, especially the grace and beauty of its lines.[13]

Commerce. China now was widely known throughout the civilized world. Arab traders, pushing out from India and the Malay peninsula, began to establish trading stations at Canton and other Chinese ports. In A. D. 751 they erected in Canton a pagoda or minaret which still stands. They presumed so much on their right to remain for trade that they occasionally also claimed the privilege of burning and pillaging. The traveler, Ibn Wahab, has left us a very interesting account of travels in China in the 9th Century.[14] A large number of foreigners seem to have been at this time permanently resident in China. At the close of the 8th Century four thousand foreign families are said to have been settled in the capital. That China was not unacquainted with the political condition of the outside world we may gather from the remark of a T'ang Emperor quoted in the Arab "Chain of Chronicles" to the effect that there were five great sovereigns, viz: The King of Irak (the Khalif), who was King of Kings; the King of China, who was King of Men; the King of Turks, who was King of wildmen; the King of India, who was King of elephants; and the King of Rome, who was King of fine men.[15]

Population. It may be worth adding that a census taken of the Fifteen Provinces in the year A. D. 754 showed that the Empire at this epoch contained nine and a half million families, or nearly fifty-three million individuals.

NOTES

1. There are many good accounts, with translations, of the Inscription of Singanfu. Those of Pauthier, Legge and Wells Williams may all be consulted with advantage. There is also a more recent description, with some good photographs, by Nichols in " Through Hidden Shensi."

2. " Ruins of Desert Cathay," II 211 ff.

3. Pauthier, " Chine," p. 294.

4. The poet Po Chü-i has a really striking poem on the lady Yang and her tragic fate, commencing —

> " His imperial Majesty, a slave to beauty,
> Longed for a ' subverter of Empires ';
> For years he had sought in vain
> To secure such a treasure for his palace
> From the Yang family came a maiden," etc.

5. Wm. F. Mayers.

6. Ross.

7. S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom," I 703.

8. Giles, " Chinese Biographical Dictionary."

9. Rémusat, " Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques," II 174.

10. Giles, " History of Chinese Literature."

11. Catalogue of Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Pictures in the British Museum.

12. *Br. Mus. Cat.*, 109.

13. Brinkley's " China." Section on " *Early Wares of China.*"

14. Kerr's " Collection of Travels," I 47 ff.

15. Kerr, I 75.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIVE LITTLE DYNASTIES

A. D. 907–960.

The Wu Tai — shifting of Capital — Shih Tsung — Chao Kuang-yin.

THE WU TAI. On the fall of the T'ang dynasty the situation in China was not unlike that in Europe about the same time, and in the course of fifty years we find five short-lived dynasties which are known respectively as the *Later Liang*, the *Later T'ang*, the *Later Tsin*, the *Later Han*, and the *Later Chou*. They reveal their inferior and dependent character by thus seeking to borrow from the reputation of previous dynasties. None of them had more than a local authority and in some cases their sway was restricted to one or two provinces. In the meantime the southern provinces for the most part managed their affairs without any Imperial interference whatsoever. It was essentially a time for desperadoes and soldiers of fortune. "To give peace to the Empire," said the counselor Shih Hung-chao, "and put down rebellion, a good sword and a long spear are wanted: of what use is a hair-awl?" The independence of China was, during this period, maintained with very great difficulty and lavish presents, and even actual tribute, had to be paid to the border tribes by sovereigns of the later Tsin dynasty. It was this ignominy which caused this particular line to be described as "the meanest house which ever swayed the black haired people."

So far as the Empire in this sordid period had any center at all the capital was sometimes at Singanfu and sometimes at Kaifengfu on the Huang-ho.

SHIH TSUNG. A. D. 954–959. One solitary figure awakens our respect and sympathy at the close in *Kuo Jung*, who came to the throne as the second of the Later Chou Emperors in A. D. 954. To ensure humility in his high station, the young king, whose throne name was *Shih Tsung*, preserved in his palace the plow and other implements of labor such as should serve to remind him of his former low estate.[1]

In the time of famine he opened the public granaries to supply the needs of the starving populace and sold to the poor on credit. When reminded by his ministers that the payments might never be made, Shih Tsung replied that he was the father of the people and could not see his children suffer. He melted the idols of the temple in order to coin money, which had become very scarce. Buddha himself, he said, who did so much for men, would certainly raise no objections. He encouraged learning, and waged successful wars against the Khitans and Northern Hans, but his death at the early age of thirty-nine put an end to the hopes of the people. The child heir, a boy of only six years old, was adjudged unequal to the difficulties of a time so "out of joint" and by popular acclamation the crown was conferred upon the head of the army, the general *Chao Kuang-yin*, with whom begins the new dynasty of Sung.

NOTE

1. Cf. the story of Kawah and the blacksmith's apron (Shah-Nameh) and the Japanese story of Hideyoshi and the soldier's water gourd.

CHAPTER XIV

THE SUNG DYNASTY

A. D. 960–1279.

General Summary — T'ai Tsu and his successors — the Kin Tatars — Jenghiz Khan — conquests of the Southern Sungs — Wang An-shih — Ssŭ-ma Kuang — the Sung Philosophers — the Sung Art.

General summary. The history of the Sung Dynasty, including as it does the reigns of eighteen Emperors, must be divided into two portions. The former deals with the *Sung Dynasty proper*, when the rulers of this line reigned over the whole land. This period continues until the conquest of the provinces north of the Yangtse Kiang by the Tatars in A. D. 1127. The second part concerns the line generally known as that of the *Southern Sungs*, and includes the sovereigns who ruled south of the Yangtse Kiang up to the time of Kublai Khan.

T'ai Tsu and his successors. The general Chao Kuang-yin was chosen much as were some of the later Roman Emperors by the Prætorian guard. The soldiers found him drunk, threw over him the Yellow Robe before he could say Yea or Nay, made a sudden resolution to supersede the six year old sovereign by their generalissimo, and so proclaimed him Emperor. It was an unpromising beginning, but *T'ai Tsu*, as he called himself, did much better than might have been expected. He was a good soldier, of powerful physique and great personal bravery. Simple in his tastes, he was hospitable to all; his house, he said, was like his heart, open to all. He gave away his own fur coat to a soldier, saying that he wished he could in like manner provide for every soldier in the army. He was, moreover, as a ruler, conscientious in the fulfillment of his duties. "Do you think," he said, "that it is so easy for a sovereign to perform his duties? He does nothing that is without consequence. This morning the thought occurs to me that yesterday I decided a case in a wrong manner, and this memory robs me of all joy." As he lived, so he died, in camp among his soldiers. War was carried on during the reign more or less constantly with the Khitan Tatars and continued throughout the reign of the succeeding Emperor *T'ai Tsung.* A. D. 976–997. From a distance the history of the time appears as a period of disgraceful treaties, threatened invasions, and proffered tribute. But there are interludes of comparative peace and prosperity. T'ai Tsung was unable to overcome the Khitan power in the north but he succeeded fairly well in overcoming the resistance to his rule on the part of the Han states to the south. His successor secured eighteen years of peace by paying tribute to the Tatars. Then came Jên Tsung, A. D. 1023–1064, whose early years were advantageously influenced by his mother, a woman of unusual capacity and good sense. These ten peaceful years, however, were followed by the rise of a new power in the northwest, the Tangutan, which had ultimately to be bought off with an annual payment of 100,000 pieces of silk and 30,000 pounds of tea. The Khitan Tatars, who had now established themselves, as the *Liao*, or Iron Dynasty, in the Liaotung peninsula, took advantage of the situation to secure the promise for themselves also of an annual tribute, in this case of 200,000 taels of silver and a large quantity of silk.

CHÊ TSUNG, A. D. 1086–1101, was another boy king who was fortunate in a wise and capable mother. Her rule was much more profitable to the Empire than that which followed when the young prince attained his majority. When he did wrong there were censors who were brave enough to rebuke the appeal to bad imperial precedents. "You would do better," they said, "to imitate their virtues rather than their vices." But apparently Chê Tsung preferred the vices to the virtues. He died without taking the trouble to select an heir, thinking that he would not die so soon, and was succeeded by his brother, Hui Tsung.

THE KIN TATARS. It was *Hui Tsung*, A. D. 1101–1126, who adopted the fatal policy of attempting the expulsion of one enemy by the employment of another. The Kin Tatars, the ancestors of the present Manchus, a branch of the Tatar race, settled near the river Sungari, were only too ready to accept the invitation. Their kinsmen had established what they called the Liao, or Iron Dynasty. They called themselves the Kin, or Gold Tatars, for, said they, "Iron rusts, gold lasts." Therefore they prepared cheerfully to fight the Khitans, to whom they were superior in military tactics and especially in the almost exclusive use of cavalry. Their wild charges of horsemen were not a little dreaded. "Worse than wolves and tigers" was the verdict of their enemies. They succeeded completely in the expulsion of the Khitans, but, after the manner of such dangerous auxiliaries, they did not consider the performance of this task sufficient and proceeded further to the conquest of their employers. In this too they succeeded, so well indeed that, from A. D. 1127, the Sungs lost their sway in all the region north of the Yangtse Kiang. The Chinese were completely demoralized by the furious onslaughts of the Tatar cavalrymen and made no stand even at places where a desperate resistance might have been expected. In the south a son of Hui Tsung rallied his countrymen and gave new vigor to the Sung dynasty within its now restricted area, but during all the century that followed China was practically two Empires, with two capitals. In the north was *Chang-tu*, not far from the site which soon became that of Pe-king (i.e. Northern Capital). In the south was, first of all, *Nan-king* (i.e. Southern Capital), and afterwards *Hang-chow*. Of the first and last of these three great cities Marco Polo has left us most interesting descriptions.[1]

JENGHIZ KHAN. Further trouble came to the distracted north, even while the Kin Tatars were absorbed in their contest with the Southern Sungs, through the epoch-making career of *Jenghiz Khan*, A. D. 1162–1227.[2] From A. D. 1207 the great conqueror was taking the preliminary steps for the subjugation of China, by the reduction of the states to the north. In A. D. 1211 he advanced towards China itself and devastated the provinces of Chihli, Shansi, and Shensi. But a severe wound compelled him to retire, leaving the Khitan monarch a vassal in Liaotung. The following year he returned and ninety cities in the northern provinces were so completely destroyed that it was said a horseman could ride over their sites without stumbling. In vain was the capital moved from Changtu back to Kaifengfu. The campaign of desolation went on and from A. D. 1220 for at least five years the ruthless conqueror made the land waste as a desert. Millions of lives were sacrificed during these terrible years. At last an unfavorable conjunction of planets impressed the superstitious Mongol with the presentiment of his approaching doom. He set his face westward, but had only reached the Si-kiang in Kansuh, when he was seized with illness. Shortly afterwards, at the camp in the province of Shansi, on August 27th, A. D. 1227, he died, at the age of sixty-five, leaving behind him a bloody renown at which every reader of history must shudder. Nevertheless, the verdict is a just one,—"He is remembered as a relentless and irresistible conqueror, a human scourge; but he was much more. He was one of the greatest instruments of destiny, one of the most remarkable molders of the fate of nations to be met with in the history of the world. His name still overshadows Asia with its fame, and the tribute of our admiration cannot be denied."[3]

Conquest of the Southern Sungs. Ogdai, son and successor of Jenghiz, continued the campaign of devastation until his death in A. D. 1241. The Kin Emperor in the north held out in his new capital, *Juningfu* until all the aged and infirm had been slaughtered to lessen the ravages of famine, till all the able-bodied men had fallen, and women alone were left to guard the walls. Then he set fire to the city and burned himself alive in his palace, so that the storming parties of the allies found only a smoking ruin. So ended the Kin dynasty of the north, a line whose nine Emperors had ruled in that part of China just a hundred and eighteen years. The Sungs in the south, whose folly had brought the Mongol invaders to their very borders, held out for some time longer against the victors, but the war was pressed by the new Khan, Mangu, son of Tuli, Ogdai's brother, with such vigor that ultimate success was made certain. More than once, however, there were heroic episodes which go to show that the Sungs had not altogether lost their early soldier-like qualities. One incident in particular deserves much wider fame than it has ever yet succeeded in gaining, namely, the five years' defense of the city of *Hsiangyang.* The heroism of the two captains, *Chang-shun* and *Chang-kwei*, who " broke through all " to reprovision the starving city, and the magnificent valor of Chang-kwei in attempting to cut his way out again when his task had been successfully accomplished, has moved a modern writer to say, " A Chinese historian might be pardoned for placing this episode on a par with Sir Richard Grenville's defense of the ' Revenge.' " But there has been so far lacking a Tennyson to make the ballad of Hsiangyang. The death of Mangu in A. D. 1259, and the accession of his able younger brother, Kublai Khan, marks the point at which it may be said that the Sung dynasty had ceased to exist and the new era, to be known as the *Yüan* (original) or Mongol dynasty had begun. Still for twenty years more resistance went on. Brave generals, devoted to the Sung cause, set up one puppet king after another, but all in vain. The last stand was made by the two faithful generals, Chang Shih-chieh and Lu Hsiu-fu, at an island off Canton. The retreat after some months was carried by storm, and, when Lu Hsiu-fu had seen to the suicide of his wife and children, he clasped the last claimant of the Sung throne, the child Ping Ti, in his arms and leaped with him into the sea. "Thus perished the dynasty of Sung." The minister of the dead king, *Wên T'ien-hsiang* (a very sympathetic figure in Chinese history) was made prisoner, carried to the court of Kublai Khan, and there, preferring death to the renunciation of his allegiance to the fallen dynasty, was finally slain.

Wang An-shih. Perhaps the most remarkable and interesting figure of the 11th Century in China was the socialist philosopher and statesman, *Wang An-shih*, who lived under the reigns of Ying Tsung and Shên Tsung. He was born A. D. 1021 in the province of Kiangsi, and was a son of a secretary to one of the Boards. As a scholar he distinguished himself from the first, making his pen "to fly over the paper" at the examinations. His early essays in literature attracted attention and gained him official position, first as magistrate, then as judge, then as expositor in the Hanlin College, and in A. D. 1069 as State Counselor to the Emperor. He was a reformer along radical lines from the very first, though basing his reforms on ancient precedents.

He was a devoted student of the classics of which he caused new editions to be made in order that the people might understand the real teaching of the Canon. He studied other literature as well. "I have been," he writes, "an omnivorous reader of Books of all kinds, even, for example, of ancient medical and botanical works. I have, moreover, dipped into treatises of agriculture and on needlework, all of which I have found very profitable in aiding me to seize the great scheme of the Canon itself." He was above all things practical, and made a brave, though eventually futile, attack on the even then venerable system of education. For a time, says a Chinese writer, "even the pupils at village schools threw away their textbooks of rhetoric and began to study primers of history, geography, and political economy." For many years the opposition between Wang An-shih and the historian Ssŭ-ma Kuang divided China into two great political camps. The former thought it his mission to change and regenerate; the latter was equally earnest in resisting the torrent and appealed constantly to the traditions of the past and to the generally conservative spirit of the race. The dispute grew more and more embittered until the accession of Shên Tsung gave Wang An-shih an opportunity to put his theories into practice. His main principle was the duty of the Emperor to provide for all his people at least the opportunity to procure the necessaries of life. "The State," he said, "should take the entire management of commerce, industry and agriculture into its own hands with a view to succoring the working classes and preventing them being ground into the dust by the rich." He caused the establishment of tribunals throughout the land to regulate the daily wage and the daily price of merchandise. The soil was measured, divided into equal areas, graded according to its fertility, in order that there might be a new basis of taxation. The produce of the land was no longer to be sent to the capital for sale on behalf of the Imperial Exchequer, but used, first, for the payment of taxes, secondly for the needs of the district in which it was produced, and thirdly, for sale to the Government of the remainder at as cheap a rate as practicable to await an increase in value, or to supply the needs of other districts. The taxes were to be provided by the rich and the poor were to be exempt. Large reserves of money were to be kept by the State to provide pensions for the aged, support for the unemployed, and help for the needy generally. Other tribunals were established for the distribution of seed for sowing in the waste lands. These were to be cultivated by those who had no other work, on the sole condition that they should repay from the harvest the cost of the seed. To secure protection against foreign enemies Wang ordered that every family with more than two males should furnish one to serve as a soldier, while every family was obliged to keep a horse, supplied by the Government, to provide cavalry in case of need.

Wang An-shih had many other ideas, especially interesting to us in these days, but apparently his theories were untimely, for, after ten years' experience of them, the nation decided upon an entire change of policy. There were many causes, indeed, for the failure of this great epoch of reform. In some things Wang showed a lack of experience in practical statesmanship, as, for example, when he abolished all restrictions on the export of copper, with the result that "even the copper cash were melted down and made into articles for sale and exportation." Wang met the resultant panic with the ingenious plan of simply doubling the value of each *cash*. Again, there was the objection of the people to the contemplated militia, the antagonism of the usurers who were largely put out of business, the dishonesty of the officials who collected the taxes and distributed the seed, the opposition of powerful and influential statesmen, such as Wang An-shih's own brother, Wang An-kuo, Han Ch'i, Su Shih, and above all, the great rival, Ssŭ-ma Kuang. Lastly, there were the physical calamities of drought and flood and famine, which were always regarded as the results of bad Government. Wang An-shih left office and was consoled with the Governorship of Nanking. He died in A. D. 1086 without seeing again any accession of popular or Imperial favor. Twenty years after his death his name was set up in the Hall of Confucius as that of the greatest thinker since Mencius. But soon afterward it was removed and since that time his memory has been belittled and his reputation aspersed. A conservative reaction set in; the radicals were banished to Mongolia and there, it is said, their unquiet spirits had something to do with the conditions which made possible the devastating career of Jenghiz Khan.[4]

SSŬ-MA KUANG. A few words are due to Wang An-shih's great rival, *Ssŭ-ma Kuang*, who lived from

A. D. 1019 to 1086.[5] He is famous alike as scholar, poet, historian and statesman. As a student he is said to have used a wooden pillow which was so constructed as to arouse him to wakefulness whenever he got too sleepy over his work. He was also famous for the reverent care with which he preserved his books. His readiness of resource in these early days is illustrated by the following story: With a number of other boys he was standing near a large vase used for the keeping of gold-fish when one of his companions fell in. The others were unable to reach the top and too terrified to think of anything else, when Kuang took up a big stone and smashed the vase. So he enabled the water to run out and the boy to escape. As a poet Ssŭ-ma Kuang is remembered for his "*Garden*," of which a delightful account is given by the Abbé Huc. As an historian he employed the years of his exclusion from office (during the reform government of Wang An-shih) in writing, amongst other important works, the great "General Mirror to aid in governing." Over twenty years altogether was devoted to this work, which was finished in A. D. 1084. It consists of two hundred and ninety-four chapters and covers the period from the 5th Century B. C. to A. D. 960. As a statesman, Ssŭ-ma Kuang was, as we have seen, a conservative. He offered to his Emperor the five following Rules of Conduct: 1, Guard your patrimony; 2, Value time; 3, Keep sedition at a distance; 4, Be cautious over details; 5, Aim at reality. He was always outspoken and frank. "The first duty of a censor," he said, "is to speak the truth." When some flatterer told the Emperor that the *Ki-lin* (a fabled beast whose coming was regarded as an augury of prosperity) had appeared in the land, the gift of a foreign potentate, Ssŭ-ma Kuang replied that the Ki-lin does not need to be sent from abroad, seeing that it appears of itself whenever the land is well governed. He died in A. D. 1086, the same year in which passed away his illustrious rival.

THE SUNG PHILOSOPHERS. The Sung period, in spite of its unsettled political condition, has always been favorably known as a period of speculative philosophy. Five men are especially singled out as eminent exponents of truth as the Sung age understood it. These are Chao, the two Chêngs, Chang and Chu. Chêng Ch'iao wrote a history of China of which an edition in forty-six volumes was published in 1749 with a preface by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung. He also wrote an authoritative treatise on the famous Stone Drums. Chu, in addition to his philosophical disquisitions, made a digest of Li Tao's extension of the history of Ssŭ-ma Kuang, which still remains an admirable summary of thirty-six centuries of Chinese history.

THE SUNG ART. The art of the Sung period was of rare excellence. The examples which have come down to us are few in number but are sufficient to show its range and dominant characteristics. The most recognizable influence is Taoist rather than Buddhist in the strict sense of the word. More accurately, perhaps, it may be said to be in large part the reflection of the Zen sect of Buddhism which had been "powerfully influenced by Lao Tzŭ's thought." "Man is not conceived of as detached from, or opposed to, external nature; rather is the thought of one life or one soul manifested in both, so that the springing and withering of the wayside grasses are felt to be something really related to the human spirit contemplating them, and the apparition of beauty in fresh snow, or rising moon, or blossoms opening on bare spring branches, seems the manifestation of a life and power in which men also share."[6] The chief painter of the period was *Li Lung-mien.*

It is sad to be obliged to recognize that the Sung era, which in art and literature and philosophy reached such heights as to be fitly termed the "Periclean Age of China," should have been politically so inglorious,— that the highest achievements in the departments of intellect and culture should have synchronized so painfully with China's first real experience of foreign domination.[7] But she was still destined, by her intelligence, to conquer the brute force of her conquerors.

NOTES

1. See Yule's "Marco Polo," for Peking (Cambaluc), I 348 ff; for Hangchow (Kin-say), II 146-260.

2. For the life of *Temuchin,* later called Jenghiz Khan, see Sir Henry Howorth, "History of the Mongols"; Jeremiah Curtin's "History of the Mongols"; Sir. R. K. Douglas' "Life of Jenghiz Khan."

3. D. C. Boulger, "History of China."

4. See Rémusat, "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques"; A. I. Ivanova, "Wang An-shih and His Reforms," S. Petersburg, 1909; the works of the Abbé Huc, etc. "Ouang anche à mon avis étoit un grand ministre, que les Chinois, attachés trop aveûglément à leurs anciens usages, n'ont pas sçu connoitre, et à qui ils ne rendent pas la justice qu'il meritoit," Du Mailla, T. VIII, p. 305.

5. See Biography by Rémusat in "Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques."

6. "British Museum Guide to Exhibition of Chinese and Japanese Pictures," p. 12.

7. "La splendeur des lettrés semblait croitre en intensité, à mesure que l' Empire perdait de sa puissance matérielle et de son étendue" (P. St. Le Gall).

CHAPTER XV

THE YÜAN OR MONGOL DYNASTY

A. D. 1260–1368.

Kublai Khan — Expeditions to Japan — Kublai's magnificence — the successors of Kublai — the Chinese revolution — Christian missions in China — the Drama — the Novel.

Kublai Khan. A. D. 1260–1294. The first of the Yüan sovereigns is known to every reader from the opening lines of Coleridge's "*Vision in a Dream.*"

> "In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
> A stately pleasure house decree;
> Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
> Through caverns measureless to man,
> Down to a sunless sea."

But Coleridge himself would never have had the chance to read of Kublai Khan in "Purchas his Pilgrims" had not the great Venetian dictated the passage with which Book II of Marco Polo begins: "Now am I come to that part of our Book in which I shall tell you the great and wonderful magnificence of the Great Kaan now reigning, by name Cublay Kaan; Kaan being a title which signifyeth 'The Great Lord of Lords,' or Emperor. And of a surety he hath good right to such a title, for all men know for a certain truth that he is the most potent man as regards forces and lands, and treasure, that existeth in the world or ever hath existed from the time of our First Father Adam until this day. All this I will make clear to you for truth, in this book of ours, so that every one shall be fain to acknowledge that he is the greatest Lord that is now in the world, or ever hath been. And now ye shall hear how and wherefore."

For this "how and wherefore" it is always a delight to refer the reader to the great traveler's story, which did more than anything else to make Kublai Khan, and even Cathay itself, known to the Western world. A Carpini and a De Rubruk succeeded in interesting only a few, and these for the most part ecclesiastics. Marco Polo not only struck the imagination of his own time, but made the glamour of Cathay so glorious that generations of travelers and navigators spent their lives in endeavoring to open up new highways to the Eastern wonderland. From the time of Prince Henry of Portugal onwards to the voyages of Diaz, Vasco da Gama, Columbus, Cabot and the rest, the desire to recover the resplendent vision which had once flashed before the eyes of Marco Polo and his uncles was the over-mastering lure.

Here we must content ourselves with a meager summary in keeping with that sense of proportion we have hitherto endeavored to preserve.

The greatness of Kublai, who was the fourth son of Tuli, and so the grandson of the great Jenghiz, had been long before predicted by his grandfather: "One day," said Jenghiz, pointing out the boy, "he will sit in my seat and bring you good fortune."

But the task that fell to him on his accession in A. D. 1260, so far as China was concerned, was one of no mean proportions. As we have already seen, the resistance of the South against the Mongol arms was kept up for nearly twenty years. The outline of the history of this period is something as follows: Appointed by his brother Mangu as Governor of the Chinese provinces, Kublai had acquired such popularity that in A. D. 1257 he had been recalled. On his brother's death he at once hastened to the capital and was proclaimed Emperor in A. D. 1260. After overcoming conspiracy in Samarcand he resumed the conquest of China in A. D. 1262. His great general, Bayan, crossed the Yangtse Kiang and carried on a victorious campaign which resulted in the capture of Hangchow in A. D. 1276. Two years later the last of the Sung pretenders died and Kublai's hold over the whole of China was established. The dynastic name of Yüan was assumed in A. D. 1271. By A. D. 1279 or 1280 Kublai could not only call himself Emperor but he was in reality much more,— Master " from the Frozen Sea to the Straits of Malacca. With the exception of Hindustan, Arabia, and the westernmost parts of Asia, all the Mongol princes as far as the Dnieper declared themselves his vassals, and brought regularly their tribute."

It is unfortunate that Kublai in his day of power did not have the generosity to forgive the great hero and scholar, Wên T'ien-hsiang, whose death was briefly alluded to in the last chapter. For three years the faithful minister of a fallen dynasty was kept in durance in the hope that he would yield allegiance to his conqueror. In prison he wrote a pathetic poem of which some lines run as follows:

> "Alas! the fates are against me,
> I am without resource.
> Bound with fetters,
> Hurried away to the north,—
> Death would be sweet indeed."

That wished-for boon was for long refused. At last he was brought before the Great Khan and, to the final demand that he should yield allegiance, he replied: "By the grace of the Sung Emperor I became a minister. I cannot serve two masters. I only ask to die." He was then executed, making his obeisance towards the *south*, as though a Chinese sovereign was still reigning at Nanking.

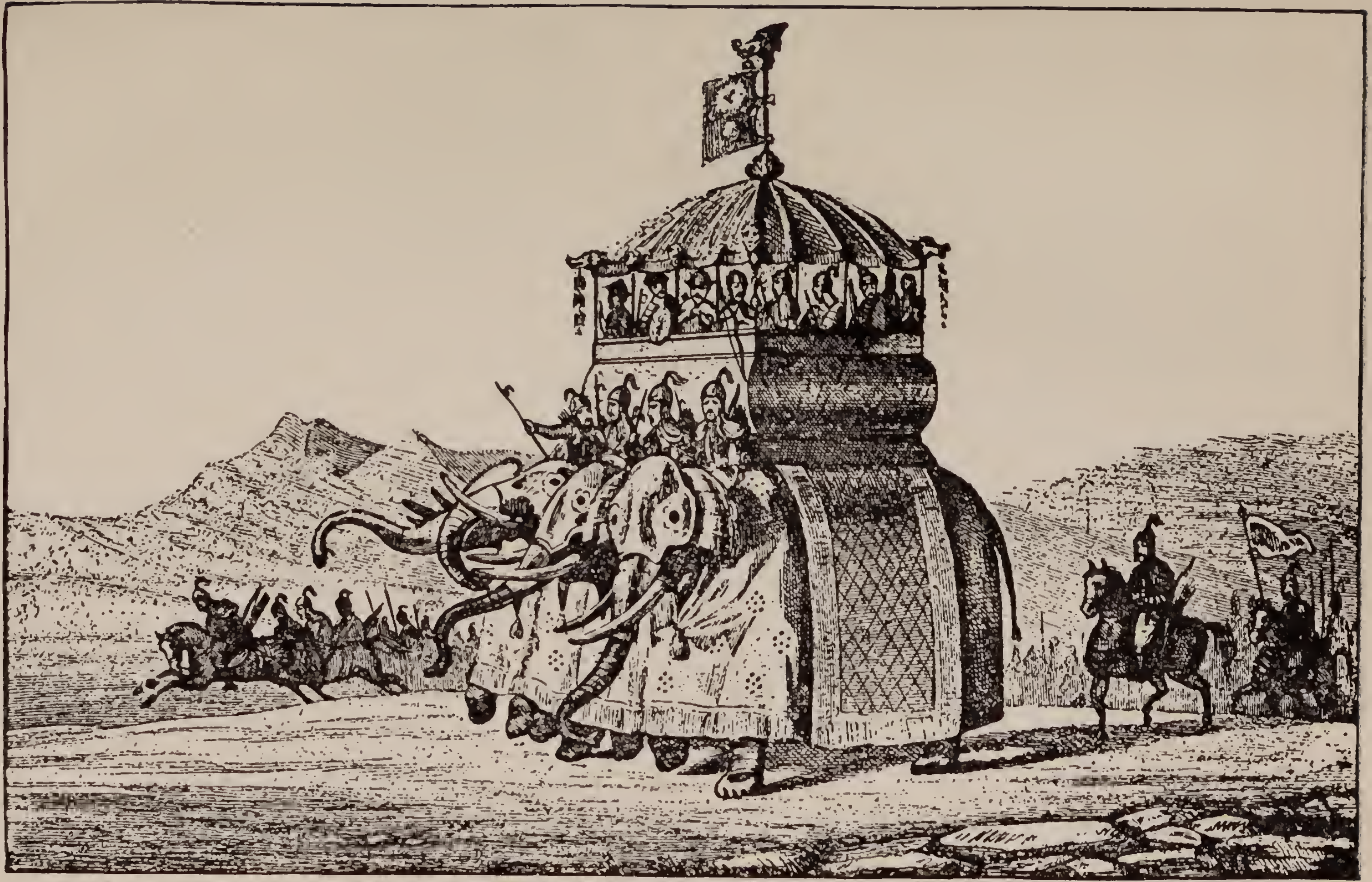
THE EXPEDITIONS TO JAPAN. Only one country successfully resisted the arms of Kublai Khan. This was Japan, or as Marco Polo calls it, *Chipangu.* From A. D. 1268 to 1273 Kublai Khan sent as many as five different embassies from China to Japan, each accompanied by a Korean representative. In each case he assumed the right to overlordship, addressing the letter: "The Emperor (Huang Ti) of China to the King (Wang) of Japan." The first expedition, consisting of 15,000 men in 300 vessels, was sent in A. D. 1274 and was defeated with great loss near the island of Tsushima. Kublai sent other envoys in A. D. 1275 who were taken to the capital of Japan and executed. Others followed in A. D. 1279 and these were beheaded where they landed. Then came the great Armada of A. D. 1281 which is so vividly described by the Venetian traveler.

" Cublay, having heard of the immense wealth that was in this island, formed a plan to get possession of it. They sailed until they reached the island aforesaid, and there they landed, and occupied the open country and the villages, but did not succeed in getting possession of any city or castle. And so a disaster befel them, as I shall now relate. You must know that there was much ill-will between those two Barons, so that one would do nothing to help the other. And it came to pass that there arose a north wind which blew with great fury, and caused great damage along the coasts of that island, for its harbors were few. It blew so hard that the Great Kaan's fleet could not stand against it. And when the chiefs saw that they came to the conclusion that if the ships remained where they were the whole navy would perish. So they all got on board and made sail to leave the country. But when they had gone about four miles they came to a small island on which they were driven ashore in spite of all they could do; and a large part of the fleet was wrecked, and a great multitude of the force perished, so that there escaped only some 30,000 men who took refuge on this island." [1]

These 30,000 were taken prisoners and put to death with the exception of three men, who were sent back to China to carry the news. Kublai Khan was unwilling to admit defeat, but the feeling was so strong in China against a renewal of the war that he had to submit. The truth, as Mr. Boulger says, was —" The Mongols were vanquished because they undertook a task beyond their power and one with which their military experience did not fit them to cope."

Some compensation for the repulse in Japan was found in the temporary success in Burmah, but there can be no doubt that the failure to subdue the Eastern Archipelago rankled sorely to the end in the heart of the Great Khan.

KUBLAI'S MAGNIFICENCE. Kublai Khan built himself a new capital, close to Changtu, which he called *Khan-baligh* (known to Europeans as Cambaluc). Later it received its present name of Peking, or Northern Capital. Of the magnificence and munificence of the Great Khan there was no end. Time would fail to tell of his manifold interest in the arts and in literature, of the attempt to introduce the Mongol alphabet, constructed by a Tibetan priest, of his great work in the deepening and extending of the Grand Canal, of his lavish entertainment of the foreign envoys and missionaries, and of his stupendous hunting expeditions. His patronage of the various religious systems brought to his notice was doubtless dictated by policy rather than by conviction. He hoped, as he expressed it, that if he leaned towards them all, the one which was greatest would be of some advantage to him hereafter. Yet, in spite of all his Solomonic glory, in the reign of Kublai Khan, even in his own day, we discern the seeds of eventual failure. The lavish manufacture and use of paper money, which had been first introduced and used by the Mongols in A. D. 1236, did perhaps more than anything else to breed dissatisfaction in the present and make inevitable catastro-



KUBLAI KHAN GOING TO BATTLE

phe for the future. Moreover, a "barbarian" the Great Khan remained to the last in the estimation of the *literati* of China. They had some reason, for all Chinese in A. D. 1286 were forbidden to bear arms, and three years later a great holocaust was made of all their bows and arrows. The attempted introduction of the Mongol written character was also strongly resented. So when Kublai died, a somewhat morose and tyrannical old man, in A. D. 1294, he had not succeeded in winning the confidence of the nation which he had subdued. His last years were clouded by the war against his cousin Kaidu, who, after winning over the general, Nayan, rose in rebellion. Nayan was defeated and beaten to death, after the Mongol fashion, in a sack to avoid the effusion of blood. The war, however, was still proceeding when Kublai's reign of thirty-five years came to an end. Kaidu continued the contest under the succeeding reign but died in A. D. 1301.

THE SUCCESSORS OF KUBLAI. A few words are sufficient in which to sum up the reigns of the eight Mongol Emperors who succeeded Kublai Khan. *Timur*, his grandson, was the first and reigned till A. D. 1307, under the name of Ch'eng Tsung. He, dying without an heir, was followed by a Mongol prince, *Wu Tsung*, and Wu Tsung, in A. D. 1312 by *Jên Tsung*. Jên Tsung honored the name of Confucius and did his best to bridge over the gulf between Mongol and Chinese. He ended a prosperous reign in A. D. 1320. Then followed weak and incapable rulers who gradually exposed to Chinese eyes the weakness of their conquerors. The last of these was *Shun Ti*, who in A. D. 1368 turned his back upon the rebels led by the ex-Buddhist priest, *Chu Yüan-chang,* and completed the humiliation of the descendants of Jenghiz Khan.

THE REVOLUTION. The country was evidently ripe for revolt, for its leader, who had been a priest of subordinate rank in a Buddhist monastery, seems to have had little conception of the greatness of the movement he was heading. A priest turned bandit and so, rising to the leadership of the numerous guerrilla bands that were organized to worry the Mongol government, " the Beggar King " was made great by his opportunity. The capture of the Southern Capital, Nanking, gave the rebels a vantage point from which to continue the war, and by A. D. 1368 the expulsion of the Mongols was so far a fact that Chang, much to his own astonishment, found himself Emperor of China and founder of a dynasty. Years before he had had a wonderful dream of a pilgrimage to the holy mountain of Hwa. Now his dream was fulfilled to the letter and some time after his accession to the throne he visited the mountain and found all exactly as he had dreamed. The dream, a kind of oriental " Pilgrim's Progress," is depicted in a tablet at the foot of the mountain.[2]

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA. The period of the Yüan dynasty was favorable to intercourse with Europeans. Rémusat says of this time: " Many monks, Italians, French, Flemings, were charged with diplomatic missions to the Grand Khan. Mongols of distinction came to Rome, Barcelona, Valencia, Lyons, Paris, London, Northampton, and a Franciscan of the Kingdom of Naples was Archbishop of Peking." This last was the famous *John* *de Monte Corvino*, sent in A. D. 1292 by Pope Nicholas IV. He had followed the earlier Franciscan missionaries, Carpini and De Rubruk, and had been appointed Archbishop with four Suffragans by Pope Clement V.[3] His labors in China extended over forty-two years, during which time he made 30,000 converts, translated the New Testament and the Psalms into Tatar, and caused many pictures of religious subjects to be painted for the churches. When he died, in A. D. 1328, he was followed to the grave by a vast multitude of Christians and pagans alike. "All the inhabitants of Cambaluc, without distinction, mourned for the man of God." It seems probable that many of the old Nestorian missions coalesced with those founded at this time and that the Christian population was quite considerable. Much of the work, however, stopped with the fall of the dynasty, and it seems probable that many of the Christians followed the Mongol retreat to their own land. Altogether the harvest was less than had been expected in Europe and the Mongol did not become, as had been hoped, the champion of Christendom against the still growing power of Islam.

THE DRAMA. The drama was not, apparently, native to China and was probably introduced from Central Asia. But the T'ang Emperor, Hsüan Tsung, is said, as early as A. D. 713, to have gathered around him a numerous company of male and female actors and singers whom he called "*The Young Folks of the Pear Garden*," a title still borne by Chinese actors. About A. D. 1000 Yen Shih is spoken of as the inventor of marionette plays, and in the following century plays are more than once mentioned. It is, however, due specially to the Mongol dynasty that the Drama (as also the Novel) appears as a distinct feature of Chinese literature. "*The Hundred Plays of the Yüan Dynasty*" include "*The Orphan of Chou*" which Voltaire used, from the translation of Père Premare, as the material for a tragedy, and "*The Sorrows of Han*," an historical drama of genuine merit and interest. A large proportion of these plays are anonymous, and it is evident that the Drama was not regarded, strictly speaking, as literature. Professor Giles says the play which will best repay the reading is "*The Story of the Western Pavilion*," a drama of passion and intrigue in sixteen scenes.[4]

The Novel. This also is of exotic origin, introduced with the Mongols themselves from Central Asia. From "*The Story of the Three Kingdoms*," a novel of this time, comes the following quotation, which seems to show a knowledge of the use of anæsthetics at a much earlier period than has generally been supposed:

"Dr. Hua is a mighty skillful physician, and such a one as is not often to be found. His administration of drugs, and his use of acupuncture and counter irritants are always followed by the speedy recovery of the patient. If the sick man is suffering from some internal complaint and medicines produce no satisfactory result, then Dr. Hua will administer a dose of hashish, under the influence of which the patient becomes as if intoxicated with wine. He now takes a sharp knife and opens the abdomen, proceeding to wash the patient's viscera with medicinal liquids, but without causing him the slightest pain.

The washing finished, he sews up the wound with medicated thread, and puts over it a plaster, and by the end of a month or twenty days the place has healed up."[5]

"The Record of Travels in the West" is another interesting novel of the time, founded upon the pilgrimage, already mentioned, of the great Buddhist monk, Hiouen Tsang.

NOTES

1. Yule's "Marco Polo," II p. 255. A Japanese account (somewhat imaginative) of the Expedition is given in the "Taiheiki" of *Kojima* (died A. D. 1374). It is quoted in Aston's "Japanese Literature," pp. 178-183.

2. "Through Hidden Shensi," Francis Nichols.

3. In 1275 Bar Sauma, a Nestorian ecclesiastic, born in Peking was sent west by Arghun Khan to interview the Pope. In Rome he was allowed to celebrate mass and Edward I of England likewise received Holy Communion from him in Gascony.

4. Some interesting translations of the Chinese drama (e.g. "Borrowing Boots") are given in the "Gleanings of Fifty Years in China," by Archibald Little.

5. Giles, "History of Chinese Literature," p. 278.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MING DYNASTY

A. D. 1368–1644.

Hung Wu and his successors — arrival of the Portuguese — Japanese invasions — the Jesuits — the Manchu invasion — the last of the Mings.

HUNG WU. A. D. 1368–1398. Chu Yüan-chang, having been once persuaded to accept the Yellow Robe, made no secret of his desire and determination to bring back the good old days of Yao and Shun. "The Beggar King," as he is sometimes called, had been left an orphan at an early age, and, through the advice given in a vision by his dead parents, had entered a Buddhist monastery. From this he emerged, as we have seen, to join the ranks of the patriots who, under the leadership of Kuo Tzŭ-hsing, his maternal uncle, were beginning to make headway against the Mongol domination. The leader died soon after and committed the command of the insurrection to the ex-monk, whose success was rapid and complete. The new dynasty was proclaimed under the name of *Ming*, or "*Bright*," and the new sovereign chose for himself the throne name of T'ai Tsu, though he is more familiarly known as *Hung Wu*, or "*Great Warrior.*" Justifying his name, he followed the defeated Mongols into Tatary, reconquered the Liaotung peninsula, and established himself in Nanking, the capital of the South. The war continued for some time under the conduct of his generals, among whom *Suta* especially deserves to be named. One incident in the war, moreever, brings to light the name of a real hero, *Yu-kwang*, who has right to his meed of praise. This general, having been captured by the Mongols, was led around the walls of Lanchifu in order that he might urge submission. Instead, he cried aloud, "Be of good courage; Suta is on his way to help you." Then he was cut in pieces by his captors and died, conscious of having saved the city from surrender. Meanwhile Hung Wu received at Nanking envoys from many lands with presents and many flattering letters. Among the presents was a lion, the first, it is said, that had been seen in China. The last Mongol claimant to the throne of China died at Karakorum in A. D. 1370 and, though invasions were not infrequent for many years, all hope of restoring the old dominion was abandoned. Hung Wu set himself vigorously to work to restore everything that was Chinese. He compelled the use of the Chinese dress, performed personally the annual ceremonial plowing, and caused the Empress to offer the annual sacrifice to the spirit of the mulberry trees. He also reëstablished the public schools and libraries and encouraged the arts and industries. One of the most important of his achievements was the compilation of the Law Code, known as the *Pandects of Yung-lu*, "which not merely simplified the administration of the law, but also gave the people some idea of the laws under which they lived." In all this he succeeded in preserving his early simplicity and modesty, and several stories are told of rebukes administered to would-be flatterers which are as deserving of remembrance as the answer of Canute to his courtiers at the sea-side. On one occasion some of the grandees brought him some stalks of wheat which showed an extraordinary yield. This they presented as a proof of the wonderful virtue of Hung Wu's rule. The Emperor responded that he did verily desire to see the time when all his subjects would enjoy peace and prosperity, but that, nevertheless, he was not vain enough to suppose that Heaven had done anything so unusual on his own account. On another occasion some Taoist priests came to him bringing a book which they declared contained the recipe for the famous "Water of Immortality." The Emperor inquired whether the book and its secret availed for everybody or for himself alone. "It is only for your Majesty's own use," they replied. "That being so," answered Hung Wu, "it is of no use to me, seeing that I will not profit by anything in which my people may not participate." In line with this disinterestedness is the story of the Emperor's having sent fur coats to his soldiers for their winter campaign, his instructions to officials proceeding to their posts to take particular care of the aged and the orphan, and the choice of his grandson as the most fitting successor rather than any of his sons. Naturally, from his old association with the bonzes, he favored Buddhism, but he seems also to have been fair to other creeds. The thirty years' reign which came to an end in A. D. 1398 was on the whole a very prosperous one and presents a striking contrast to the contemporary career of the great conqueror, Timur, or Tamerlane.

Hung Wu's Successors. The succession devolved, as we have seen, upon the grandson of Hung Wu, *Chu Yün-wên*, to the exclusion of the sons. Chu Yün-wên, who ascended the throne as Hui Ti, A. D. 1398–1403, was a youth of sixteen and his inexperience soon tempted a revolt which was headed by one of his uncles, Hung Wu's fourth son, known as the Prince of Yen. The other uncles were degraded and one of them committed suicide, but the revolt, nevertheless, continued to spread, and soon attained alarming proportions. One of the royal generals was most fertile in resources for defending his city, dropping iron harrows on the heads of the assailants and hanging out numerous pictures of Hung Wu from the battlements in the belief that the Prince of Yen would respect his father's portrait. But eventually Nanking was captured, the victor established himself on the throne as *Ch'eng Tsu* (reign title Yung Lê), (A. D. 1403–1425), and Hui Ti, disguised as a monk, fled to Yunnan where he lived for forty years much more happily than he had done as Emperor. His identity was revealed at last through the publication of a poem and he was removed to Peking where he died. The new ruler, in spite of some outbursts of atrocious cruelty at the beginning of his reign, proved a capable sovereign. He made Peking once again the capital, carried his victorious arms far into the deserts of Tatary, and added to his dominions Cochin China and Tongking. Probably by way of reaction against the extreme devotion of his predecessors, he renewed the proscription of Buddhism and sent many hundreds of priests back to their homes. He also burned the books of the Taoists and forbade any further search for the *Elixir Vitæ.* Notwithstanding his destruction of the books he was a patron of literature and produced the "most gigantic encyclopedia" ever known, a work which took over 2,000 scholars for its compilation, and ran probably to 500,000 pages. It was never printed, but two extra copies were made. Of the three transcripts of this great work, two perished at the fall of the Ming Dynasty and the third at the burning of the Hanlin College on June 23rd, 1900, during the Boxer Revolt. Like Hung Wu, Yung Lê received envoys and tribute from afar, including a rhinoceros from Bengal. But he can hardly have appreciated as much as most the luxury and wealth which his elevation to the throne brought within his reach, if the story be true that he discouraged the opening of newly discovered mines of precious stones in Shansi. "For," said he, "such things as these can neither nourish the people in time of famine, nor preserve them from the rigors of cold."

Yung Lê was succeeded by his son *Jên Tsung* (reign name Hung Hi) (A. D. 1425–1426), who, however, only reigned a few months. He died, it is said, as the result of superstitious terror when he learned that the stars were unfavorable. His short reign is only dignified by his recorded response to the ministers, when a famine was being severely felt. They advised him that it was impossible to act without having recourse to the high tribunals. "No deliberations; and no delays!" he cried. "When the people are dying of hunger one must relieve them as promptly as if it were a case of putting out a fire or stopping a flood." *Hsüan Tsung*, A. D. 1426–1436, is remarkable for nothing but for the Haroun-al-raschid-like habit of wandering disguised among the people to learn their condition, and for the loss of Cochin China which, in the year 1428, passed from the rank of a province to the category of tribute-bearing countries. He was, however, a well-meaning monarch, lightened taxes, established custom-houses and encouraged the schools.

Ying Tsung, A. D. 1436–1465, reigned with an interruption of seven years, during which time he was a prisoner among the Tatars. A descendant of the old Yüan family captured and held him in spite of all offers of ransom. During his absence the throne was occupied by a brother, *Ching Ti*, A. D. 1450–1457.

Hsien Tsung, A. D. 1465–1488, and *Hsiao Tsung*, A. D. 1488–1506, reigned with comparative quiet, devoted to the bonzes and even to the superstitions of the Taoists. Much public work was attempted at this time. Half a million men were employed in working certain gold mines in Central China, although the yield must have been disappointing if the total is rightly given as thirty ounces. The Great Wall was repaired and a canal dug from Peking to the Peiho to enable the junks to pass from the Yangtse Kiang to the capital. Unfortunately, however, the realm was more than once desolated by famine and pestilence, and cannibalism is said to have become rife in the west.

Arrival of the Portuguese. The reign of Wu Tsung (reign name Chêng Tê), A. D. 1506–1522, is notable on account of the first arrival of Europeans by sea to Canton. "During the reign of Ching-tih," says a Chinese work quoted by Dr. S. Wells Williams,[1] "foreigners from the West, called Fah-lan-ki (Franks), who said that they had tribute, abruptly entered the Bogue, and, by their tremendously loud guns, shook the place far and near. This was reported at Court and an order returned to drive them away immediately and stop their trade. At about this time, also, the Hollanders, who in ancient times inhabited a wild territory and had no intercourse with China, came to Macao in two or three large ships. Their clothes and their hair were red; their bodies tall; they had blue eyes sunk deep in their heads. Their feet were one cubit and two-tenths long; and they frightened the people by their strange appearance."

Raphael Perestrello was the first Portuguese to arrive, sailing from Malacca in A. D. 1516. The following year came Ferdinand d'Andrade with a squadron to Canton and was well received. The trouble came with the arrival of his brother Simon and the commission of many high-handed acts of outrage. Dr. Andrade was thereupon imprisoned and executed by the Emperor's orders in A. D. 1523. Factories and settlements, however, were established at Canton, Ningpo, and Macao, which soon became the headquarters of the Portuguese trade with China.

JAPANESE INVASIONS. Chêng Tê was succeeded by *Shih Tsung*, A.D. 1522–1567, whose reign was disturbed not only by invasions from the north on the part of the Tatars, but also from a new quarter, viz: Japan. The raids by the Japanese pirates in this reign began to be quite serious. Hitherto the inhabitants of the Eastern Archipelago, when they came at all, came as vassals; now, under the leadership of the great warriors of the Momoyama period, they not only considered themselves independent, but pined for new worlds to conquer. For three successive years, A. D. 1555, 1556 and 1557, they made descents upon the coast of Chehkiang with varying degrees of success. Twenty-five years later, in the time of the famous Hideyoshi, a much more deliberate and formidable attack was made. The Taikosama had long meditated the conquest of Korea, to which Japan asserted claims of long standing, and he was prepared to extend the reach of his ambition to China. In a letter written to the ruler of Korea "as a father to a son," Hideyoshi said: "I will assemble a highty host and, invading the country of the great Ming, I will fill with the hoar frost from my sword the whole sky of the four hundred provinces. Should I carry out this purpose, I hope that Korea will be my vanguard. Let her not fail to do so, for my friendship with your honorable country depends solely on your conduct when I lead my army against China." The Koreans, with a more adequate knowledge of the resources of the Middle Kingdom, replied that for Hideyoshi to contemplate the invasion of China was like "measuring the ocean in a cockle shell, or a bee trying to sting a tortoise through its shell." Hideyoshi, however, was in on wise dismayed. "I shall do it," he said, "as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it under his arm." Two armies, one of them commanded by a famous Christian general, Konishi Yushinaga, were dispatched and ravaged Korea with fire and sword. Appeals to China led to the sending of a small force which was easily defeated by the Japanese at Pingshang. Some futile negotiations for peace, in which the Japanese were outwitted by the Chinese diplomatists, followed, and the war was renewed in A. D. 1597. A great battle was fought in A. D. 1598 in which 38,700 Chinese and Koreans are said to have been slain. The ears and noses were pickled in tubs and sent back to Kyōto, where they were buried in a mound near the great image of the Buddha. The gruesome monument erected on the spot, together with the *mimizuka*, or ear mound, as it is termed, remain to the present day and represent practically all that Hideyoshi got out of his campaigns. Sense of failure weighed upon the great soldier at the last. He died with the words upon his lips, "Don't let my soldiers become ghosts in Korea."

Meanwhile the throne of China had passed from Shih Tsung to *Mu Tsung* in A. D. 1567 and from Mu Tsung to *Shên Tsung*, better known by his throne name Wan Li, in A. D. 1573. While the latter was trying to deal in a feeble way with the Japanese menace in Korea, he was also endeavoring to placate the Tatar generals in the North with the gift of lands and honors.

THE JESUITS.—Probably the most important event in the reign of Wan Li was the arrival of the famous Jesuit, *Matteo Ricci.* For some years the disciples of Loyola had cast longing eyes upon the Middle Kingdom. Francis Xavier, foiled in his attempts to set foot in the heart of the country, succumbed to fever on the little island of Sancian on

Dec. 2, A. D. 1552. Thirty years later, Valignani mournfully exclaimed, "O mighty fortress, when shall these impenetrable brazen gates of thine be broken open?" It was reserved for Ricci in A. D. 1582 to learn the way to remain in China without offending too much the prejudices of the Chinese. With Michael Ruggiero, who had arrived at Macao in A. D. 1580, Ricci obtained leave to stay at Shauking, and, as Dr. Wells Williams tells us, "in their intercourse with the people of all classes they won good opinions by their courtesy, presents and scientific attainments." At first the Jesuits dressed as Buddhist priests; later they wore the garb of literati; and, when in A. D. 1601, they succeeded for the first time in reaching Peking, their knowledge of astronomy and mathematics made possible a stay which would have been cut short had they appeared as evangelists alone. Nevertheless, their converts were not few and some of them, like Paul Su and his daughter, who was baptized as Candida, were influential enough to protect their teachers from molestation. Ricci died in 1610.

THE MANCHU INVASION. The last years of Wan Li were under the shadow of impending invasion from the north. The famous Manchu chief, Nurhachu, who was born in A. D. 1559 near the source of the Yalu, in Korea, first appeared as a conqueror in the Liaotung peninsula in A. D. 1582. Three years later all the confederation of Tatar chiefs recognized him as their king and we find him preparing for the conquest of China. In A. D. 1617 he published his memorable "*Seven Hates* of the Tatars against the Chinese," concluding with the words, "For all these reasons I hate you with an intense hatred and now make war upon you." This manifesto Tien Ming, or Nurhachu, burned in the presence of the army in order that, thus spiritualized, it might pass into the presence of the dead as a witness against the Mings. Having thus put in the strongest light the various wrongs from which the Manchus asserted themselves to be suffering, the chief advanced into the border land, vowing that he would celebrate his father's funeral with the slaughter of two hundred thousand Chinese. He seems to have fulfilled his vow only too well, and in A. D. 1625 fixed his capital at Mukden. Two years later he died without having led his army into China proper. His son carried on the work which had been begun, broke through the Great Wall in three places, ravaged the province of Chihli, and advanced far enough to show that Peking was at his mercy.

THE LAST OF THE MINGS. Wan Li in the meantime had died, A. D. 1620, of a broken heart, and the Ming throne fell with all its burdens upon Chuang Lieh Ti, known as *Ts'ung Chêng.* The Manchu invasion was not the only menace of the situation. British commerce made a characteristic appearance at Canton in A. D. 1635. The vessels under Captain Weddell proceeded to the Bogue forts and, being fired upon at the instigation of the Portuguese, —"Herewith the whole fleet being instantly incensed, did on the sudden display their bloody ensigns; and weighing their anchors fell up with the flood and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shot, yet not any that touched so much as hull or rope; whereupon not being able to endure their bravadoes any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides." [2]

More serious was the insurrection that broke out under *Li Tzŭ-ch'êng* and *Chang Hsien-chung.* The whole country, indeed, as an annalist testifies, hummed with the spirit of revolt, like a hive of bees in swarming time, but *Li Tzŭ-ch'êng* represented a coalition of rebel leaders known as the Eight Kings. Li was a village headman who had turned brigand, associated himself with a gang of desperadoes (a gang which included a famous female bandit), and had at length risen to the command of a powerful army. The Mings were reduced to the direst extremities. Kaifengfu was strictly besieged by Li, and human flesh was sold in the shambles for food. The Imperialist general endeavored to retaliate by cutting the dikes and flooding the country. "China's Sorrow," the Huang-ho, was nothing loath to do its deadly work, but the inundation did nothing in return to help the dynasty in its extremity. Peking was soon invested and the end came not long after. The Emperor, with a touch of dignity about his death such as he had never shown during his life, committed suicide. He called around him the members of his family, and toasted them in the wine of the country. Then he bade his wife slay herself in her own apartment, which she did, strangling herself with a silken cord. Forty concubines followed the Queen's example, and the Emperor himself attempted to slay with his sword his fifteen year old daughter.[3] Then he ordered his other children to be slain to save their honor, and retired to a favorite eminence in the palace grounds where he hanged himself. Ere he died he wrote on the lapel of his robe his last edict, ending with the words, "Hack my body to pieces if you will, but spare my people." A eunuch who had remained faithful to the last stripped the body of the royal robes that it might not be recognized, and gave it the best burial that was possible under the circumstances.

The triumph of the rebels was frustrated by the Ming general, *Wu San-kwei*, who at once opened up negotiations with the Manchus, inviting them to save the country from the revolting faction and reëstablish order. Li advanced against him, but was badly beaten and forced to retreat upon Peking. Here he placed upon the ramparts the heads of the Ming Emperor's murdered sons, and above the principal gate the bloody head of the Chinese general's father. With a great cry, a cry which was at once taken up by all the army, Wu San-kwei burst into the city. Li fled, deserted by most of his men, and died miserably soon after at the hands of local militia in the province of Hupeh. The invited Manchus, nothing reluctant, now entered China to lay hands upon the spoil, and T'ien Tsung dying in 1644 his son *Shun Chih* was proclaimed in the same year the first Manchu Emperor of China. The words of the proclamation are worth quoting:

"I, Son of Heaven, of the Dynasty Tai Ch'ing, respectfully announce to Your Majesties the Heaven and the Earth, that which follows: My grandfather having received the mandate of Heaven, founded in the East a kingdom which became mighty. I, the Servant of Heaven, although unworthy, have inherited his dominions. The Mings having become corrupt, rebels arose everywhere and oppressed the people. China being without government, I, faithful to the beneficent traditions of my family, have destroyed its oppressors and saved its people, after which, yielding to the universal request, I have fixed the seat of the Empire at Peking. Crowned with the blessings of Heaven, I announce that I have ascended the throne and have named my dynasty T‘ai Ch‘ing, and my reign Shun Chih. I beg respectfully that Heaven and Earth may aid me to put an end to the misfortunes of my country."

NOTES

1. "The Middle Kingdom," II 427.

2. Staunton's Embassy, I 5-12.

3. She afterwards recovered and married "a magnate of the court whom she had long loved" (Boulger).

PART II

FROM THE MANCHU CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT DAY

CHAPTER XVII

INTRODUCTORY

A celebrated Japanese gardener, the story goes, set out to make a garden in which he should use but one of the manifold products of a bounteous earth. He chose, of all things in the world,— rocks! and we are told that his rock-garden was one of the wonders of the neighborhood. There are many who suppose that Chinese history must necessarily be, if a garden at all with any ordered plan, a garden of rocks, mere facts petrified with age, arranged according to the *preciosité* of some antiquarian or archæological schematism, but out of all relation with the things that live.

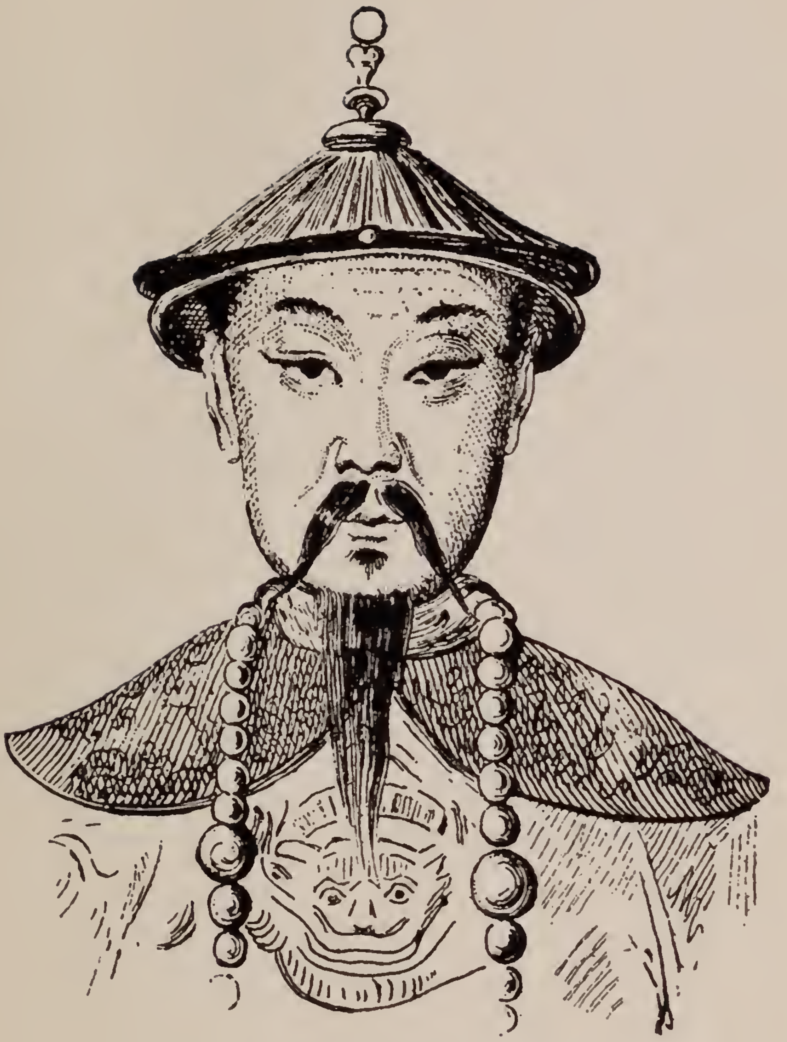
It is hoped that those who have hitherto followed this little history will have discovered that such an estimate is untrue. The forces which rule in modern China are not for the most part forces which have been imported from foreign lands. They are forces which come potent and alive out of the historic past.

A Chinese legend tells how in the fifth century B. C. a certain prince offended his sovereign and was ordered to commit suicide. The culprit obeyed and his body was cast into the great river Yangtsze as he had requested. But he predicted that he would come again to behold the ruin of his ruthless master and the legend tells us that the great bore of Hangchow rolling seaward with " a wrathful sound, and the swift rush of thunder" is nothing else but the spirit of the unappeased Tsz-sü. In like manner the spirits of the past ages make to-day's tides. The spirit of the Revolution of 1911 was the same as that which swept away the Shang Dynasty eleven centuries before Christ, or that which drove back the Mongol into Central Asia in 1368 A. D. The democratic forces which have prevailed to-day are essentially the same as those which called Shun from his plowing twenty-five centuries before Christ, or made it possible for an obscure Buddhist priest to found the dynasty of the Mings.

All history, however modern, must take account of origins. The Knickerbocker history, which must needs go back to the patriarchs to commence the history of New York, is not wrong in principle. Not only is it true, as Shelley sings, that

> "All things, by a law divine,
> With one another's being mingle,"

but it is also true that the particular must always take hold of the universal. The drinking cup of every man, as well as that of Thor, is connected with the infinite ocean. He who would drain to the bottom his own draught must exhaust the sea. All this is true of the history of China as well as that of any other country. The facts of China's past contain not only the interpretation of China's present: they contain also the interpretation of the history of Europe and America. As, in Darwin's famous illustration, the white clover disappeared from a certain district in Australia because the boys had killed off the cats which had hitherto destroyed the mice, now



TIEN MING

enabled to multiply and so destroy the nests of the bumble bees which had fertilized the clover, in history there is no scientific frontier between nations. Modern Europe rose on the ruins of the Roman Empire, which fell largely before the inroads of the barbarian tribes which the great Han generals of China had succeeded in turning westward; and modern America is the result of the dreams which Marco Polo inspired in the navigators of the fifteenth century of a Cathay rich and splendid beyond the imagination of mortal men.

All this needs to be emphasized because it would be a pity to attempt the understanding of China out of a study restricted to modern times. We need some far-flung vision of the past, with all its mist and all its glamour, if we would appreciate the present, which seems more prosaic because seen at closer range. To know a river in such a way as to account for its size, its currents, its swiftness, its color, the character of the soil brought down as a deposit for the fields on either hand, you must do more than stand upon its bank at a given point: you must search, if you can, "the roots of the fountain" and track it onwards to the ocean. Happy indeed if, while in other historic studies we see

"In outline dim and vast
Their fearful shadows cast
The giant forms of Empires, on their way
To ruin,"

we find in the case of China a commonweatlh of unknown antiquity continually resisting the forces of disintegration, and a contemporary of the youngest as it was a contemporary of the most ancient nationalities the world has known. A French writer has recently said: "*Il n'est point si facile de faire table rase du vieux monde céleste.*" The phrase is an apt one and applies with as much force to the revolution brought about by the Manchus in 1644 as to that which took place before our astonished eyes a year or two ago. There is no *table rase* at the commencement of the period with which this volume deals, and we must, therefore, bring to the study of the time some conception of the various epochs which gave it birth.

Let us bring with us to the study of the China of the past three centuries the following vision:

In the youth of the world, beyond the beginnings of authentic history, we see a shepherd folk in the northwest provinces of what we now call China, of whose provenance we can only speak by way of speculation. These folk have learned to rule and guard and feed their sheep, and they bring to the ruling and guarding of the future Empire the self-same qualities which have made them shepherds. Presently, the great family under its "*Pastores*" is seen to be outgrowing the old patriarchal despotism. The machinery of a more complex government is being evolved, not only to secure the people from attacks from the fierce aboriginal tribes within their borders and to repel the hordes of invaders from without, but also to avert or heal the great devastations of flood and drought to which China has been subject for uncounted ages.

So we come to the dynastic history which, as given us in the later compilations of the Confucian literati, represents the monarchs of China in the strongest conceivable light and shade. Like the little girl in the rhyme,

"When they were good they were very, very good,
 And when they were bad they were horrid."

There is some sameness in the story of these dynasties, for, as Byron writes,—

"There is the moral of all human tales;
'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past;
First Freedom, and then Glory — when that fails,
Wealth, Vice, Corruption — Barbarism at last.
And History with all her volumes vast,
Hath but one page."

With some such reflection we pass by the story of the vicissitudes of the dynasties of Hsia and Shang to the nine centuries during which ruled the house of Chou. This we think of as the feudal period, when the centrifugal tendencies of the several states were stronger than the forces which were centripetal. It is during this period that we perceive philosophers and professional reformers of every type endeavoring to repair by ethical teaching the moral declension of the rulers. It is the era of Lao Tzŭ and Confucius, of Chwang Tzŭ and of Mencius, of Micius and Licius. Nevertheless, all the philosophers with their democratic theories were not able to arrest a brief experiment in Imperialism, and for one generation, from about B. C. 250, we see the mighty fashioner of the Great Wall, Ch'in Shih Huang Ti, bending himself to the double task of rooting out from China the very memory of Confucian ideals and of welding together the contending principalities into an indissoluble unity. Ch'in Shih Huang Ti's dynasty perished with him, but that which followed, while reacting from the iconoclasm of the anti-Confucianists, carried out the great First Emperor's dream of extended rule and pushed on the frontiers of China to regions no ruler had hitherto known. The story of the Han dynasty and of those great Wardens of the Marches who reared the dragon flag front to front with the eagles of Rome on the one frontier which divided the Empire of the Pacific from that of the Atlantic,— is one of thrilling historical and political interest. No one will ever quite understand the significance, *e. g.*, of the Russian Convention with Mongolia in 1912 who has not appreciated what the great Han generals accomplished two thousand years before.

Then there rises before us four centuries of anarchy, which have become for us centuries of romance, and we scarcely need the " Story of the Three Kingdoms " by China's Sir Walter Scott to make us feel the fascination of this rude yet chivalrous time. At the beginning of the 7th Century A. D., when from Japan to the Atlantic Coast new nations were rising into manhood, when on the ruins of the Roman Empire in the west a modern Europe was slowly taking shape, and on the ruins of the Byzantine Empire and of Sassanian Persia the Khalifate was establishing itself; when the *Nihongi* and *Kojiki* in Japan were telling of a new power rising from the mists of the eastern archipelago — rises into view the glorious period of the T'angs, memorable alike for its literature and its art, and above all, for the great religious movements which turned the China of the 7th Century into the hospitable nursing-mother of foreign religions, Magian, Muhamadan, Christian and Manichæan.

Once again we have a period of anarchy and misrule, and this in A. D. 960 gives place to the Sungs with their philosophers and political economists striving to hold back from ruin a land already to a large extent under the grip of the Tatar.

A mist of blood passes before the eyes through which sweeps westward with flashing sword the terrible form of Jenghiz Khan. When the storm had passed we see rising out of the ruins the throne of the Mongol. The fair city of Cambaluc gleams from afar like Camelot and through the magic spectacles of Marco Polo we catch a glimpse of Kublai Khan. We see him " with ten thousand falconers and some five hundred gerfalcons, besides peregrines, sakers and other hawks in great numbers; and goshawks also to fly at the waterfowl. The Emperor himself is carried upon four elephants in a fine chamber made of timber, lined inside with plates of beaten gold, and outside with lions' skins."

A century more and the Mongol rule has passed to the limbo to which it had itself consigned the Sungs. Out of the factions of the mid-fourteenth century rises the figure of the " Beggar King," achieving Empire almost without knowing whither his stars were leading him, and so founding the famous dynasty of the Mings.

Now at last our vision is almost finished. The Ming dynasty has, like its predecessors, sunk into the mire of contempt. The Manchus are thunder-ing at the northern portals, but it is to rebellion and intrigue that the China of the Mings succumbs. The last Ming Emperor stands in the San Kwan temple close to the city gates to learn his fate. The fortune-telling sticks are in the vessel in his hand. If a long stick is shaken out he will go forth to meet the rebels; if a medium-sized stick falls he will await him in his palace; if a short stick falls he will know the worst. Then the lots were cast and the short stick fell to the ground. The Emperor "with a mingled cry of rage and despair, dashed the slip on the ground, exclaiming 'May this temple built by my ancestors evermore be accursed! Henceforward may every suppliant be denied what he entreats as I have been! Those that came in sorrow, may their sorrow be doubled; in happiness, may that happiness be changed to misery; in hope, may they meet despair; in health, sickness; in the pride of life and strength, death! I, Ts'ung Chêng, the last of the Mings, curse it.'"

So he went back to the palace and arranged for the death of himself and family. Next day, strangled with his own girdle, the last of the Mings lay dead on the Mei Shan in the Palace gardens at Peking.

When the news reached the commander-in-chief of the Chinese army, he gave the word which let in the Manchus into the heritage of the sons of Han.

NOTE

Backhouse and Bland in " Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking," show the end of the Mings as anything but dignified. They ascribe the decline under this dynasty as due largely to Eunuch rule. " Eunuchs have always tried to engage their Sovereign's attention in ignoble pursuits, so that they might freely pursue their ambitious designs." The great Empress dowager is quoted as saying on her death bed: " Never again allow any woman to hold the supreme power in the State. It is against the house-law of our dynasty and should be strictly forbidden. Be careful not to allow eunuchs to meddle in Government matters. The Ming dynasty was brought to ruin by eunuchs and its fate should be a warning to my people."

CHAPTER XVIII

THE REIGN OF SHUN CHIH

A. D. 1644–1661.

The Manchu period — the Manchus — Nurhachu — the Conquest — Wu San-kwei — Accession of Shun Chih — Ama Wang — Progress of the Conquest — Shang K'o-hsi — Ching Chih-lung and Coxinga — Adam Schaal — Foreign relations — Death of Shun Chih.

THE MANCHU PERIOD. Much more is popularly known of this period in Europe and America than of the dynasties which preceded it. This is natural both on account of its nearness to our own time and because of the necessarily closer relations established during this period with the western nations. Nevertheless, the history of the Manchu dynasty, like the history of China generally, has been written for the most part from the foreign standpoint and might perhaps be more justly entitled, as we have so far appreciated it, a History of the foreign relations of China during the Manchu period. This result has followed from two obvious considerations. First, those who have written have been for the most part interested mainly in questions which concern the outer world. Secondly, the Chinese have followed the custom of deferring the publication of the memoirs of a dynasty until the dynasty itself has run its course. Hence on many points in the story of the epoch we have considerably less light from native sources than on the stories of the dynasties of Han or Sung. In our description of the events coming within this period we shall endeavor to preserve the same sense of proportion observed in the earlier volume. Many important questions must, of course, be treated less than adequately, but in these cases it will be easy to supply the deficiency from detailed and authoritative sources.

The Manchus. The Kin Tatars, or Manchus, have already been described as a branch of the great Tatar family. They had their original home on the banks of the Sungari River. They make their first appearance upon the field of history in the 10th and 11th Centuries, when they followed the Khitan Tatars into the northern part of China. The Khitans had adopted the name of *Liao*, or *Iron*, as the title of their dynasty, and transmitted it to the peninsula which they wrested from the Chinese and which has ever since borne the name of *Liaotung.* On their heels came the ancestors of the Manchus, then called *Nüchihs*, and with a fling at their rivals, took the name *Kin*, or *gold*, for, said they, " Iron rusts, gold keeps its color." A century later, however, the Kin Tatars were driven out of China by Jenghiz Khan. The name *Manchu*, or *Pure*, was given to the tribe by Aisin Gioro, who was miraculously born to a heavenly maiden in the Chang Pai mountains. Aisin Gioro consolidated the Manchu power and established his capital at Otoli, but after his reign, which was violently ended, the Manchus pass out of sight until the middle of the sixteenth century.

Nurhachu. We may perhaps usefully summarize what has already been said on the subject of the Manchu conquest and retrace the steps which led to the downfall of the Mings. The most potent instrument in the early stages of the conquest was the famous chief Nurhachu, who aspired to become a second Jenghiz Khan. Born in A. D. 1559, he succeeded in conquering the Liaotung peninsula in A. D. 1582. From that moment onwards he cast covetous eyes upon the Ming dominions to the south. Contact with the Chinese seemed inevitably to create an atmosphere of conflict. The conflict became more and more embittered as the years passed, and Nurhachu, in issuing the famous declaration, known as the "*Seven Hates,*" showed that he was anxious to seek some justification for the projected campaign. At the same time, in taking the throne name of Tien Ming, he showed unmistakably that his intention was nothing less than conquest. This achievement was, in all probability, only averted by his death in A. D. 1627. The foresight which led him to send his son in early childhood into China that he might be instructed in the language, manners and customs of the Chinese, is only one more indication amongst many of the purpose which lay nearest to his heart.

The Conquest. Hostile, however, as were the intentions of the Manchus, it is important to remember that, as on the earlier occasion under the Sungs, the actual occupation of China came to them as the result of an invitation from the Chinese themselves. Many years after, the Emperor K'ang Hsi was able to say in his last Will and Testament:

"Of all the dynasties which have succeeded up to the present, there is none which has acquired the Empire with so much right and justice as mine." The facts which give some color to this claim have already been recited. They may be briefly restated. On the death of Nurhachu the campaign against China was at once followed up by his son. The north was ravaged and Peking, where the Ming Emperor was living amid a horde of eunuchs and effeminate literati, was threatened. The expedition had already caused the "Son of Heaven" to lose face, and the people were ready to believe that the Mings were abandoned by Providence. But, as we have seen, the downfall came without the actual intervention of the Manchu. The rebellion of *Li Tzŭ-ch'êng* and his capture of Peking were the immediate causes of the suicide of the last of the Mings and the Empire lay apparently, at this juncture, at the mercy of the rebels.[1]

WU SAN-KWEI. Now appears on the scene the great general who by some has been esteemed as the chief of patriots, while by others he has been regarded as the worst of traitors. In later years he was possibly not without his pangs of self-reproach, but it is only fair to give him credit throughout his career for the highest of motives. It was not tolerable to him to see the capital in the hands of rebels. There was at least a chance of securing peace for the Empire by calling in the Tatars. Wu San-kwei was near the frontier when, in A. D. 1643, he heard of the capture of Peking. He hurried to meet the victor, but, on attacking a certain stronghold, he was dismayed to find that Li held possession of his aged father, whom he threatened to slay under his son's eyes unless submission was made. No more touching story of loyalty has ever been written than that which tells how Wu San-kwei fell down on his knees and, bursting into tears, besought his father's pardon for sacrificing the tenderness of a son to loyalty towards his sovereign. The father was not behind the son in courage, and gave himself cheerfully to death while, as we have already told, vengeance was not long delayed. Of the subsequent history of Wu San-kwei there will be something to say in the following chapters.[2]

ACCESSION OF SHUN CHIH. The Tatar conqueror, Tsung Têh, under these circumstances invited to occupy the vacant throne, lived just long enough to enter Peking. He died in A. D. 1644, after proclaiming as his successor the young prince who at the age of six assumed the title of *Shun Chih* and is generally regarded as the first of the Manchu sovereigns of China. The dynastic title chosen was that of *Tai Ch'ing*, or *Great Pure* Dynasty. According to the accounts given by the Jesuit fathers, China at this time contained a population of eleven and a half million families. At the end of the reign another estimate was made of nearly fifteen million families, or eighty-nine million individuals. The whole Empire was well mapped out by the Jesuits and Father Martini published in A. D. 1654 his *Atlas Sinensis*. Descriptions of the time show a remarkable degree of organization for the accommodation of officials on the public roads. An itinerary was printed, lodging places everywhere provided and runners went a day ahead to make all necessary preparations. The reign of Shun Chih is marked by the re-division of the land into eighteen provinces, instead of the fifteen which had existed under the Mings.

AMA WANG. For the greater part of the successful achievements of the early part of the reign of Shun Chih the credit should be given to the Emperor's uncle, the Regent Ama Wang. His was the comprehensive intelligence and the strong arm which grasped and suppressed most of the dangerous outbreaks of rebellion and when he died, whilst on a hunting expedition, in A. D. 1651 the conquest had been to a large extent secured. Shun Chih showed less than gratitude. A royal funeral was, indeed, celebrated and posthumous honors awarded, but a few months afterwards the tongue of slander reached the ears of Shun Chih and, under the impression that Ama Wang had before his death been seeking his own aggrandizement the Emperor degraded his memory, destroyed his tomb, and even mutilated the dead body.

PROGRESS OF THE CONQUEST. The security of the Tai Ch'ing Dynasty was far from complete with the conquest of the north. The situation was not unlike that in England after the death of Harold at the Battle of Hastings. New pretenders to the Ming succession were constantly put forward and leaders were found to head the obstinate rebellions which broke out in various provinces. There were, too, many Portuguese from Macao ready to serve as mercenaries. Some of these were enlisted and promised to provide artillery, but jealousy of the foreigners proved a stronger passion than even hatred of the Manchu. The chief resistance to the invader was naturally in the south. At Nanking a great rally was made around the person of the prince *Fu Wan*, but the Chinese were defeated and the claimant drowned in the waters of the Yangtse River. Fu Wan was manifestly unfit to afford a promising rallying point since he was more given to the pursuit of pleasure than to the hardships of a soldier's life. It is told of him that on one occasion he sighed, and explained the sigh with the remark, "I am sighing to think it is impossible now-a-days to find a first rate actor." The General Shih K'o-fa made another rally at Yangchow, which he defended heroically for some time. But the tide of massacre flowed on irresistibly. The "Journal of a Citizen of Yangchow" has been translated and gives a most harrowing picture from the pen of an eye witness of the butchery which went on until, as the writer tells us, ten or even a hundred Chinamen, meeting a single Manchu soldier, prostrated themselves and bent their necks for the sword without daring to flee. "If there are any," says Wang, in concluding one of the most terrible narratives ever written, "who, born in a period of peace and enjoying a tranquil life, have not in themselves wisdom enough to govern themselves aright, let them find in this narrative of events a lesson and a warning."[3] One Ming princeling was put forward in Fuhkien, others in other places. But it was all in vain. One was captured and sent to Peking to be strangled with the bowstring. Another was slain in battle. Remorselessly the conquerers continued their advance. The siege of Chekiang produced one memorable act of heroism on the part of the conquered when Lo Wang, pretending for the occasion to be a would-be Emperor, saved the city by the sacrifice of himself. In Kwangsi two Christian Chinese generals made another obstinate resistance, but again in vain. Canton, after an investment of ten months was captured and a horrible massacre took place in which over a hundred thousand persons perished. The last claimant to the Ming throne, Kuei Wang, who took the throne name of Yungli, was encountered in the extreme southwest and was finally delivered up to the conquerors by the Burmese in the year of Shun Chih's death. He and his son Constantine were slain and his wife and mother, Anne and Helena, who were Christians, were kept in prison in Yunnanfu until their death.

In addition to these attempts to restore the deposed dynasty Shun Chih had to contend with a trouble of another kind in the rebellion in the west under *Si Wang*. This uprising deserves to be mentioned if only as an illustration of the fearful waste of human life which insurrections in China have entailed. The massacre of thirty thousand literati was only one incident in the career of Si Wang. The massacre of the wives was on a larger scale still. Si Wang believed that his army would be invincible if only his soldiers were freed from domestic ties. So at his bidding four hundred thousand women were slain. The sacrifice was useless, for the leader was soon after slain by an arrow and the rebellion melted away.

SHANG K'O-HI. It is to be noted that many of the most famous generals in this terrible campaign of subjugation were Chinese rather than Manchu. Of these we have already mentioned Wu San-kwei, who for his services was made "Prince Pacifier of the West" with the Viceroyalty of Yunnan and Szechuan and a residence at Singanfu. Another, almost equally famous, was *Shang K'o-hi*, who passed from the service of the Mings in A. D. 1635 and remained for the rest of his life one of the most trusted servants of the Manchus. He was appointed "Prince Pacifier of the South" in A. D. 1646 and had charge of the Manchu armies in Kwangtung which he governed until A. D. 1674. He was the principal leader in the attack on Canton. In later years many efforts were made to induce him to join in the rebellion of Wu San-kwei, but he stood firm in his allegiance. When he heard of the defection of his son he was overwhelmed with grief and committed suicide.

CHING CHIH-LUNG AND COXINGA. Two of the most romantic figures in the story of the conquest are those of the great pirates, Ching Chih-lung and his son, Ching Ch'ing-kung, better known as Coxinga, a corruption by the Portuguese of the title *Kuo-hsing-yeh*, "Possessor of the National Surname." The father was a native of the province of Fuhkien, but had lived for many years in a Japanese settlement in Formosa where the son was born of a Japanese mother. The elder Ching was first of all only an ordinary freebooter, but gradually he developed into a serious opponent of the Manchu supremacy and the conquerors had more difficulty with him and his apparently omnipresent fleet than with all the land forces of China. The son earned an even more terrible name and became to the Manchu what Hereward the Wake was to the Norman. On one occasion four thousand Manchus were made prisoners after a naval battle and were liberated with their ears and noses cut off. They were ordered slain by the shamed and indignant Emperor. The terror of Coxinga at length became so great that the people of six provinces were ordered to retire three leagues inland under pain of death, after destroying all their property, in order to leave to the pirates nothing but a desert shore. The effect was felt as painfully by the peaceful inhabitants as by the pirates, for many thousands who had hitherto got their living by fishing were now ruined. One of the most important achievements of Coxinga was the driving out of the Dutch from Formosa, after a long siege of Fort Zealandia, and the assumption of sovereignty over the island. The new principality drew colonies from the province of Fuhkien, and Formosa remained an appanage of the "Sea Quelling Duke" for some twenty-eight years. After many adventures the father fell into the hands of the Manchus and was executed in Peking in A. D. 1661. The son survived only one year, dying at the age of thirty-nine after a most romantic career. His adventures form the subject of one of the best known of Japanese plays by the dramatist Chikamatsu. It is interesting to add that the descendants of Coxinga were ennobled under the title of *Hai-ching-kung* (Sea Quelling Duke) presumably for their services in restoring the island of Formosa to the Empire.

Adam Schaal. The entry of the Jesuits into China under the Mings has already been recorded.

Matteo Ricci had come as early as A. D. 1601 and had lived without undue friction with the Chinese until his death in A. D. 1610. His place was filled by Longobardi, and others came whose scientific zeal produced over three hundred treatises on various branches of western learning. The most commanding figure among the members of the order was a German, the famous Adam Schaal, who, arriving in A. D. 1628, survived the dynasty and lived on into the reign of K'ang Hsi. He was chosen by the Manchus to reform the Calendar and in addition to his scientific work made many converts. During the minority of K'ang Hsi he incurred the jealousy of the regents and was cast into prison, dying of grief and suffering on Aug. 16, 1669, after thirty-seven years of splendid work in the Imperial service. During the reign of Shun Chih he stood in high favor at court, although even then the quarrels between Dominicans and Jesuits and the events taking place in Japan were making the position of the missionaries precarious.[4]

Foreign Relations. The arrival of Europeans had, even before the end of the Ming Dynasty, begun to exercise a disturbing influence on the course of Chinese history. The relations of the *Dutch* had commenced with the attack on Macao and the occupation of the Pescadores in A. D. 1622. The Chinese had met the situation with the shrewd suggestion that Holland should take Formosa rather than the Pescadores and the hint had been accepted. Formosa remained Dutch till Coxinga expelled the intruders and made the island his own. Several embassies were attempted by the pushing Hollanders of this time. In A. D. 1653 they sent an Embassy to Canton which was brought to naught by the alertness of their Portuguese rivals. Two years later, an Embassy was sent to Peking and an interesting account has come down to us from the pen of Niewhof, who has detailed for us some of the astonishing servilities which were exacted of the accommodating ambassadors. By their complacency, however, they secured the privilege of sending an Embassy once in eight years and of employing four ships in the Chinese trade. There were to be only a hundred men in a Company and only twenty were to be permitted to proceed to Court.

Russian efforts were even more persistent. As early as A. D. 1567 two Cossacks had attempted to see the Emperor but had failed because they brought no presents. In A. D. 1619 Evashto Pettlin arrived at Peking with the same intention, but he too brought no presents and was dismissed without seeing the dragon's face. He got, however, a letter which no one in Moscow was able to decipher. In A. D. 1640 the Russian conquests on the Amur brought them into close relations with the Middle Kingdom and in A. D. 1653 the Czar Alexis sent Baikoff who was too proud to *kotow* before Shun Chih and was thereupon dismissed. Persistent expeditions followed, extending into the next reign, viz.: in A. D. 1658, 1672 and 1677. The ultimate result was the Treaty of Nerchinsk in A. D. 1689 — the first treaty ever agreed upon by the court at Peking in modern times.

English influence was of little account during the reign of Shun Chih. The visit of Capt. Weddell in

A. D. 1635 has already been alluded to. The arrival of another power was naturally viewed by the Portuguese with something more than coldness and there was little encouragement for British enterprise from any other quarter until after the close of the reign.

Among foreign affairs we may with some reason reckon the visit of the *Grand Lama* of Tibet, since Tibet had not yet become a part of the Chinese Empire. On the arrival of this august personage at Peking Shun Chih conferred upon him the title of Dalai Lama which has since been borne by the ecclesiastical heads of Lamaism. The term had indeed been used by the Mongol Khans for the Tibetan ruler as early as A. D. 1576, but the confirmation of that title by Shun Chih in 1653 made its authority complete.

DEATH OF SHUN CHIH. The first Manchu Emperor of China made serious efforts to secure popularity among his new subjects. He showed himself as much as possible among the people and ratified as far as possible the existing Chinese laws. He retained the Six Boards, accepted the counsels of the literati, and, in the interests of the old order, refused permission to the Chinese to learn the Tatar language. On the other hand, the insistence on the wearing of the *queue* as a badge of subjection to the Manchu provoked the intensest resentment. The Chinese were as inordinately attached to their national manner of wearing the hair long and unshaven as the Koreans were of their top-knot at the time of the Japanese occupation of the peninsula.

Hence when the order came to shave the head with the exception of one long lock at the back there were thousands of people who preferred to lose their lives rather than dishonor their heads. In some provinces, such as Fuhkien, the resistance lasted until recent times and the general willingness to sacrifice the pigtails exhibited in the recent revolution has shown that even centuries are not sufficient to recommend a fashion against the sentiment of a nation.

Shun Chih's death took place in A. D. 1661, according to one account from small-pox, but, according to another and more circumstantial one, from grief at the decease of a favorite wife. This wife had been the spouse of a young Manchu whom the Emperor summoned to Court and, with malice prepense, boxed his ears. Of course the insulted subject could not with honor survive the indignity and, on his suicide, which had been foreseen, Shun Chih at once married the widow. When she died the grief-stricken Emperor was with difficulty prevented from slaying himself. He had thirty women immolated, according to the old fashion, at her tomb and preserved the body, reduced to ashes, in a silver urn. Then he shaved his head and went, like a madman, from pagoda to pagoda till death ensued. Just before his death he selected as his heir his second son, then eight years old,— destined to bear the great and glorious name of K'ang Hsi. He then exclaimed, " I shall soon depart to rejoin my ancestors," and expired at the age of twenty-four after a reign of eighteen years. The four appointed regents at once repaired to the ancestral hall and vowed before the shades of the dead to be loyal to the trust imposed upon them. So commenced the reign of K'ang Hsi.[5]

NOTES

1. Li Tzŭ-ch'êng, "Prince Harrier," as he was called, entitled his dynasty *T'ai Shun*. Early in life certain omens pointed his way to Imperial power.

2. Backhouse and Bland, "Annals and Memoirs," take a very unfavorable view of Wu San-kwei, attributing his opposition to Li to infatuation for a certain dancing girl. B. and B. acknowledge his ability as soldier, statesman, scholar, " but of his principles and patriotism, the less said the better."

3. See " Annals and Memoirs of the Court of Peking," ch. VII.

4. The life of Adam Schaal is given by Rémusat in his " Mélanges Asiatiques," Vol. II, p. 217.

5. Gossip has been busy with the name of Shun Chih. Stories have been circulated of his illegitimate birth and it is furthermore believed by many that, instead of dying in 1661, he abdicated and retired to a Buddhist monastery. In a temple 14 miles from Peking a mummy statue was shown whose features were strikingly like those of Shun Chih. The Emperor's devotion to Buddhism was well known and one writer says: " He threw away the Empire as one casts away a worn out shoe; he rejected the sovereignty thrust upon him in this incarnation and, following the example of the Lord Buddha, prepared to seek the mystic solitudes."

CHAPTER XIX

THE REIGN OF K'ANG HSI

A. D. 1661–1722

Accession — Rebellion of Wu San-kwei — The Jesuit Missions — The Advance of Russia — War with the Eleuths — The Sacred Edict — P'u Sung-ling — The Reforms of K'ang Hsi — Death of K'ang Hsi.

Accession. Shun Chih was succeeded by his second son who took the name of K'ang Hsi, a title signifying *Unalterable Peace*, and inaugurated, if not a period of peace, at any rate one of the longest and most splendid eras in the history of China. The reign completed a full Chinese cycle of sixty years and was for fifty-four years contemporary with that of Louis XIV — a fact of which the French Jesuits have not been slow to remind us. It was also for nearly half a century coincident with the reign of the great Mogul of India, Aurungzib. For the first six years of this long period K'ang Hsi was under the control of four somewhat reactionary regents, but, on the death of one of them, the Emperor, who was now fourteen years old, determined to assume for himself the reins of government. He began with characteristic vigor to purge the court of the unwholesome influence of the palace eunuchs. Four thousand of these pestilent parasites were expelled and their employment strictly prohibited for the future,— a prohibition, alas, but slackly observed. The Emperor then ordered the laws of the Empire to be newly engraved on iron tablets of a thousand pounds' weight and prepared to rule as well as to reign. K'ang Hsi is described in the following terms: "Fairly tall and well proportioned, he loved all manly exercises and devoted three months annually to hunting. Large bright eyes lighted up his face, which was pitted with small pox. Contemporary observers vie in praising his wit, understanding, and liberality of mind. Indefatigable in government, he kept a careful watch on his Ministers, his love for the people leading him to prefer economy to taxation. He was personally frugal, yet on public works he would lavish large sums." [1]

THE REBELLION OF WU SAN-KWEI. The final steps in the pacification of China belong to this reign, such as the suppression of the piratical raids of Coxinga, but at one time it seemed very much as though the whole work of conquest would have to be done over again through the defection of the great Chinese general, Wu San-kwei. "The Pacificator of the West" had for a long time been regarded almost as an independent feudatory chief, and may very well in this respect have incurred the suspicion of the Emperor. When an invitation, offered as a test, came from K'ang Hsi to pay a visit to Peking, Wu San-kwei had on his part excuse for suspicion, especially as his son, who was then residing in the capital, advised him against compliance. The only alternative to obedience, however, was rebellion. "I will go to Peking," he declared, " if they persist, but it will be at the head of eighty thousand men." So the breach came in 1674 and each side at once took the inevitable step of making war. The partisans of Wu San-kwei formed a plot in Peking to blow up all the Manchu court at the New Year festival. This was discovered on the very eve of the day appointed through the treason of a slave. All hope of reconciliation was now at an end. The outlook for the Manchus seemed at first black, for four provinces at once declared for Wu San-kwei and the whole of the Southwest was seething with disaffection. There was, moreover, a strong disposition on the part of the Mongols of Tatary, under a leader who was reputed to be descended from Jenghiz Khan, to make common cause with the Chinese. To add to K'ang Hsi's troubles a great earthquake and fire desolated Peking and destroyed the Imperial Palace. Nevertheless the young Emperor faced the all but desperate situation with characteristic coolness and courage. The Manchu garrisons held their own and gradually Wu San-kwei was forced into a position where defeat became more or less inevitable. The struggle lasted for four years, during which time the Manchus were greatly assisted by the new artillery which had been manufactured under the instruction of the Jesuit missionaries. Death came to the heroic rebel in A. D. 1678 or 1679 just when he was at the end of his resources. Then he who had never known defeat for fifty years of strenuous warfare yielded to a stronger foe than K'ang Hsi. It was deemed right by the victor to make an example of the vanquished even though the grave had claimed him. Wu San-kwei's bones were divided and sent into all the provinces in order that they might be hung from a gallows and treated with contumely by the populace.[2] Opinions will always vary as to whether Wu San-kwei should be honored or execrated by his fellow countrymen. A charitable judgment will scarcely hesitate to think of him as having throughout acted according to his conscience and as deserving the name of a brave and patriotic Chinaman.

THE JESUIT MISSIONS. The guardians of the young king were from the first ill-disposed towards the missionaries, and this for more than religious reasons. They regarded with extreme jealousy the disposition of the Emperor to trust (not without cause) the superior ability of the foreigners in the matter of calendar-making and astronomical science. Adam Schaal was thrown into prison and condemned to death by slicing (*ling-chih*), but fortunately the sentence was cancelled before it was too late. However, the venerable priest never came forth from his dungeon and died Aug. 16, 1669, at the age of seventy-eight, having given thirty-seven years of distinguished service to the Emperors of China. Others suffered a similar fate, the Dutch Jesuit Verbiest escaping from confinement only when K'ang Hsi took up the reins. The Emperor, it is said, was annoyed at the errors of the court astronomers and only too glad to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Adam Schaal by the appointment of Verbiest. Louis XIV recognized the honor which K'ang Hsi had conferred upon the Jesuit scientist by the gift of a large bronze azimuth and celestial globe for the Emperor's use. These remained prominent objects upon the city walls of the capital till Peking was looted by the Allied troops in 1900. The astronomical instruments were taken by the Germans and afterwards displayed among the treasures of Potsdam. At the same time K'ang Hsi was by no means indifferent to the religious side of the situation and might have been sympathetically affected had it not been for the unfortunate differences between the missionaries themselves. In China, as in Japan, the work of the Jesuits had been followed up by other orders, such as the Franciscans and Dominicans, and these had differed more than a little in matters of policy if not in matters of doctrine. These differences were accentuated by the arrival of Bishop Maigrot, whose ignorance of Chinese excited the contempt of K'ang Hsi, and whose opposition to the work of the earlier missionaries was open and illiberal. The appointment of a Papal Legate added fuel to the fire and K'ang Hsi found himself under the necessity of banishing De Tournon, the aforesaid legate, to Macao. The question of ancestor worship was one chief cause of controversy, the Jesuits regarding it as not wholly irreconcilable with Christianity, the Dominicans insisting on its absolute discontinuance. Another question was that of the term to be used as an equivalent for "God," and incredible bitterness was aroused by what one would have supposed a matter to be critically and dispassionately considered.[3] We have an echo of this situation in the words of the good Pope in Browning's "*Ring and the Book*": —

"Five years since in the Province of To kien,[4]
Which is in China as some people know,
Maigrot, my Vicar-Apostolic there,
Having a great qualm, issues a decree.
Alack, the converts use as God's name, not
Tien-chu but plain *Tien* or else mere *Shang-ti*,
As Jesuits please to fancy politic,
While say Dominicans, it calls down fire,—
For *Tien* means Heaven, and *Shang-ti*, supreme prince,
While *Tien-chu* means the lord of heaven."

K‘ang Hsi was scandalized, not only by the quarrels which these controversies provoked among professors of the same faith, but perhaps even more by the fact that the Pope decided for one party, the Dominicans, while *he* had already decided for the Jesuits. Such an interference with his supremacy, ecclesiastical and civil, boded ill, he thought, for the Empire, and from this time onward his attitude was more or less hostile. It should, however, be said that there was no lack of deliberateness in the matter and many meetings of the Council were held to give opportunity for discussion. The emphasis, moreover, in the proscriptive edicts which followed was invariably on the political character of the missionaries' work, rather than on its religious aspect. "False and pernicious doctrine" they regarded it indeed, but it was with the fear of foreign political interference in their hearts that they formed their estimate. The Emperor himself was certainly not ungrateful for the labors of the Jesuits, especially those of a scientific character. Verbiest's work, "The Perpetual Astronomy of the Emperor K‘ang

Hsi," enjoyed a high reputation. The Jesuits, Bouvet, Régis, Jarboux, Fridelli, Cardoso, de Tartré, de Mailla and Bonjour, rendered inestimable service through their cartography of the provinces. The maps were printed in the great work of du Halde and were not only useful to the Empire but formed the first introduction to modern Europe of some knowledge of things Chinese. It may be asserted without fear of contradiction that the advanced position attained by France in Sinology to-day is largely due to the interest created in China by the work of the early Jesuit fathers. In this respect Colbert's statesmanship and the foresight of the French Academy of Sciences have been amply rewarded.

In A. D. 1692, after twenty-two years of proscription, prejudice was so far allayed that a declaration, to which the Emperor gave the force of law, was published, reciting the advantages which missionary enterprise had brought to China and giving permission to the missionaries to remain. This tolerant attitude was maintained until A. D. 1717 when a certain mandarin whose travels had made him only too well acquainted with the situation in Japan and the Philippines, solemnly warned the Emperor of the vaulting ambition of the foreign propagandists. This led to the renewal of the prohibition against preaching as the sole means available for warding off mischievous complications.

THE ADVANCE OF RUSSIA. K'ang Hsi's management of affairs in the south has already been described. By A. D. 1684 even Formosa, a perennial source of trouble, had been won from the grandson of the great pirate. In the meantime trouble was brewing beyond the northern and western frontiers: For some time the advance of Russia eastward had exercised a disquieting influence upon the tribes of Central Asia. From A. D. 1582 when the robber Cossack, Yermak, set out from Perm in charge of an expedition organized by the Strogonoffs, there had been stealthy but ceaseless progress in the Russianization of Northern Asia. The Yenizei was reached in A. D. 1620. In 1630 Tobolsk was settled. In 1648, after a successful war with the Tunguses and Buriats, Russian dominion was extended to Lake Baikal. With headquarters on the Lena, four thousand miles from Moscow, trade and conquest still pushed on. The great explorer, Poyarkoff, discovered a tributary of the Amur in A. D. 1643. He encountered little opposition from the Manchus, who at this time were too busy with their invasion of China, so he entered the Sungari and at last came upon the Amur, to the mouth of which he drifted. Poyarkoff appealed in vain to his government for men to follow up his discoveries, but private enterprise responded in the person of Khabaroff. The new colonists alienated many of the natives by their overbearing manner, and in A. D. 1658 experienced a severe defeat at the hands of the Chinese, who carried back a number of captives to Peking. It is said that the descendants of the captives are still to be distinguished by their un-Chinese features, and that they live in the very section of Peking to which they were originally consigned. In A. D. 1689 came the signing of the *Treaty of Nerchinsk*, already alluded to. This famous agreement secured peace between the two nations for a period of one hundred and sixty years. There was no further extension of Russian influence in China during the reign of K'ang Hsi. Peter the Great sent an embassy under Ismailoff in A. D. 1719 which was graciously received, but a second expedition failed because it found K'ang Hsi on his death-bed and the anti-foreign ministers in control. Thus ended Peter's dream of "tapping the wealth of China."

War with the Eleuths. Among the tribes made restless by the Russian advances were the Eleuths, a tribe of Kalmucks whose leader, Galdan, seems to have dreamed, like others before and since, of repeating the career of Jenghiz Khan. He took it for granted that an alliance with Russia must furnish a good opportunity for breaking with China and would compel that country to recognize his independence. The Emperor drew the sword reluctantly, and after trying various means of conciliation; but he was determined to bring Galdan to his senses. The war ended in A. D. 1690 with the pretended submission of Galdan and, the following year, the Emperor, accompanied by the Jesuit Gerbillon, who was a good Mongolian and Russian scholar, held a review of the troops in the field. Unfortunately, Galdan's ambitions revived and a new campaign was rendered necessary in A. D. 1697. An ultimatum was despatched to the too audacious chieftain and a limit of seventy days assigned, but before the expiration of this period Galdan was released from his predicament by death. He is said to have poisoned himself. It must be added that the Eleuth chief showed in the conduct of his campaigns very little resemblance to the great conqueror whom he desired to emulate. A nephew, Tsi Wang, tried for a while to deserve better success, but a third Chinese force penetrated Mongolia and K'ang Hsi had the good fortune to celebrate the complete subjugation of the Eleuths on the sixtieth anniversary of his ascending the Dragon throne.

No other trouble beyond the frontier vexed the reign of K'ang Hsi, with the exception of the dispute in Tibet between the two factions of Lamas, known as the Red Caps and the Yellow Caps. A garrison was sent to watch events and Chinese authority was, as we shall see, ultimately recognized.

K'ANG HSI AND LITERATURE. Notwithstanding the demands made upon him by long-continued rebellion and warfare, K'ang Hsi may be regarded as one of the most munificent patrons Chinese literature ever possessed. Through his efforts and encouragement some stupendous literary enterprises were brought to a successful consummation. Of these the works most deserving of mention are two large concordances printed in forty-four and thirty-six volumes respectively; an encyclopædia in forty-four volumes; another, illustrated, in sixteen hundred and twenty-eight volumes of two hundred pages each; and, chief in fame if not in importance, the great Dictionary containing 44,439 characters arranged under the two hundred and fourteen radicals. This was the work of thirty literati who were kept busy for a number of years. For the printing of Government publications K'ang Hsi ordered the engraving of 250,000 copper types.

THE SACRED EDICT. The *Shêng Yu*, or Sacred

Edict, is perhaps the best known of the writings attributed personally to K'ang Hsi. It consists of sixteen maxims, corresponding with the sixteen years of the youthful sovereign who composed them. Each maxim consists of seven ideographs and the whole is proclaimed twice a month. It is supposed to be committed to memory and a versified form has been issued for the use of children. These sixteen moral maxims, which, as Dr. Giles observes, are commonplace enough in themselves, are as follows:

1. Pay attention to filial and fraternal duties.
2. Pay respect to kindred, and display the excellence of harmony.
3. Prevent litigation in your neighborhood.
4. Pay attention to husbandry and the culture of the mulberry.
5. Exercise economy in the use of money.
6. Magnify scholarship and academical learning.
7. Oppose foreign religions in the interest of orthodoxy.
8. Explain the laws.
9. Manifest politeness of manners.
10. Attend to the essential employments.
11. Attend to the instruction of youth.
12. Secure the innocent from false accusation.
13. Warn those who hide deserters.
14. Pay taxes without frequent urging.
15. Extirpate robbery and theft.
16. Settle animosities in the interest of life.

The issuing of the *Shêng Yu* may perhaps be best regarded as the effort of an enthusiastic boy, placed in a position of great responsibility, and anxious to do something towards promoting a return to the virtues of the "good old times."

P'u Sung-ling. With the encouragement of the Emperor it may readily be supposed that many would be disposed to try their own hand at literature. This is indeed the case, although the most famous works of the reign belong to a category not highly regarded by the literati, viz.: the Novel. The "Strange Stories" of P'u Sung-ling, to take only one example, are exceedingly entertaining. The writer was born in A. D. 1622, took his first degree in 1641 and completed the book by which he is known in 1679. For some years it circulated only in manuscript, as the author was too poor to have it printed. The printed work did not appear till 1740. As illustrating the variety of interest in the "Strange Stories," we may quote Dr. Giles.[5] "There is a Rip Van Winkle story, with the pathetic return of the hero to find, as the Chinese poet says —

"City and suburb as of old,
But hearts that loved us long since cold."

There is a sea-serpent story and a story of a big bird or rukh; also a story about a Jonah, who, in obedience to an order flashed by lightning on the sky when the junk was about to be swamped in a storm, was transferred by his fellow-passengers to a small boat, and cut adrift. So soon as the unfortunate victim had collected his senses and could look about him, he found that the junk had capsized and that every soul had been drowned."

The Reforms of K'ang Hsi. The Emperor during his reign made many earnest attempts at reform. Among these was the effort to suppress the practice of *foot-binding* among the women. The origin of the practice, which is unknown to the Manchu women and to the Hakkas of the south, is doubtful. Some ascribe it to the desire to remove reproach from a certain club-footed Empress. Some see its origin in feminine envy of the " lily " feet of a famous royal mistress; and others again in the masculine desire to prevent the ladies of the household from gadding about. It is possible also that the practice was meant to show immunity from (and therefore superiority to) the necessity of field labor, as in the case of the long fingernails of the men. In any case it has been the cause of untold sufferings and K'ang Hsi's effort was one in the direction of real humanity. Custom, however, was too strong for the royal command or the example of the Manchu women to overcome. It is said that even to-day, after all the efforts of the " Anti-foot-binding Societies " there are still seventy million women in China with bound feet.

More successful was K'ang Hsi in the prohibition of the *immolation of women* at the funerals of the great. Shun Chih, it will be remembered, had sacrificed thirty slave-women at the tomb of his favorite. Under similar circumstances, K'ang Hsi intervened to prevent the destruction of four, and his wishes were in this respect complied with.

The abolition of the *Capitation* tax was a very popular reform and did not a little towards allaying Chinese disaffection in many of the provinces. The people were also gratified by the return of the lands of which they had been unjustly deprived and even criminals, banished to the north, had reason to bless the Emperor who decided that, on account of the misery inflicted by the great heat upon travelers in the months from July to November, the transportations should cease during this period.

We may add to this account of the reforms of K‘ang Hsi that the Emperor justly prided himself upon the "*royal rice*," a species which he discovered could be cultivated as far north as Peking, and which he therefore believed must add to the welfare of his subjects.

Death of K‘ang Hsi. In A. D. 1722 the aged sovereign celebrated an unique festival in the Palace of the Heavenly Purity. It was the sixtieth year of his reign, and therefore marked the completion of a cycle of rule. In honor of the occasion K‘ang Hsi invited all men in the Empire over sixty years of age to be his guests at Peking. How many found it possible to accept we know not, but the occasion cannot have lacked interest and picturesqueness. Soon after the conclusion of the festivities K‘ang Hsi went beyond the Great Wall to hunt leopards. While on this expedition he took cold and died, after a brief illness, on Dec. 20, 1722.

Thus ended what was without question a great reign. It amply justified the confidence with which Shun Chih had regarded him when as a child he marked him out for sovereignty. It may well also excuse the note of satisfaction expressed in K‘ang Hsi's last Will and Testament:

"I, the Emperor, have more than a hundred sons and grandsons and I am aged seventy years. Kings, nobles, officers, soldiers, peoples, even the Mongols and others besides, bear witness to the attachment they bear for my person, regretting to see me so advanced in years. Under circumstances so flattering, if I am about to finish my long career, I shall leave life with satisfaction."

Notwithstanding, however, this satisfaction with the past, K'ang Hsi was not without forebodings in respect to the future, and the sagacity and foresight of a great ruler were never better manifested than in the words he uttered in 1717:

" There is cause for apprehension, lest in the centuries or millenniums to come, China may be endangered by collisions with the various nations of the West who come hither from beyond the seas."

For this danger China had not to wait millenniums, and subsequent chapters will make plain the accuracy of the great Emperor's anticipation.

NOTES

1. Giles, " Chinese Literature," p. 385.

2. Wu San-kwei is still " officially venerated in Yunnan and we may see on each side of the bronze pagoda a gigantic sword, which was supposed to represent his arms, accompanied by laudatory inscriptions. There are many legends relating to Wu San-kwei; one, which is generally believed, is to the effect that his body has never been buried, but reposes in a silver coffin hanging from the ceiling of a secret chamber in the palace of the Viceroy; and on the day on which it touches the ground the Manchu dynasty will fall." Vicomte d'Ollone, " In Forbidden China," p. 161. This legend conflicts with the account of the desecration of his bones.

3. In a prefatory note to a printed report of Dr. Legge's essay on " Confucianism in relation to Christianity " read at a Missionary Conference in 1877 I find the following words: " It was read in full assembly, but the Conference by a vote decided to omit it from the printed record of proceedings, in deference to the wishes of those who regarded it as taking one side in the controversy respecting the term to be used for God in the Chinese language."

4. Browning's mistake for Fuhkien (Fo-kien).

5. Giles, " Chinese Literature," p. 352.

CHAPTER XX

THE REIGN OF YUNG CHÊNG

A. D. 1722–1736.

Accession of Yung Chêng — Secret Societies — Insurrections — Foreign affairs — Edict against the Missionaries — the Reforms of Yung Chêng — Yung Chêng as author — the Great Earthquake — Death.

Accession of Yung Chêng. K'ang Hsi had not been altogether without his anxieties as to the succession. The eldest son was suspected of using unholy arts to prevent the throne from descending to any but himself. The second son, the favorite of his father, was regarded as the victim of these arts and was, in consequence, out of his mind. It was not till the last day of his life that the Emperor could bring himself to nominate an heir. This was Yung Chêng, a man of good ability and mature years, being forty-four at the time of his father's death. The story has been circulated that the new monarch was really the fourteenth and not the fourth son and that the fourth, then in Mongolia, was arrested and imprisoned, but the report is probably without foundation. Yung Chêng in any case took pains at the outset to make good his title to the throne-name he had chosen — *Stable Peace.*

Secret Societies. The most serious difficulties to be encountered by Yung Chêng, difficulties which unfortunately increased during the succeeding reigns, sprang out of the multiplication and spread of Secret Societies. Anti-dynastic movements had ceased to make open insurrection, but, in concealing themselves from the notice of the authorities, they became "hidden fires," and the anti-Manchu spirit succeeded in organizing itself in manifold ways. The capacity of the Chinese for organization along these lines has been frequently noted, yet possibly no one has really succeeded in getting to the bottom of a very special and complex subject.[1] The best known of these associations into which the "*esprits forts*" of anti-Manchuism gathered themselves are those named the *White Lotus*, the *Triads* and the *Heaven and Earth society.*

The *White Lotus* society is said by some to go back to the fourth century, but seems really to have been organized in the first years of the Mongol dynasty. The founder of the Ming dynasty is said to have been affiliated. It reached the height of its influence at the end of the 18th Century. The *Triads* were possibly founded in Mongol times by the so-called "boxing monks" of Chaolinsz. The *Heaven and Earth* society was perhaps founded by the pirate Coxinga.

It is worth noting that there was an extensive employment of literature to further the aims of these secret orders. Especially was this the case with novels. "The Dream of the Red Chamber"[2] is a work of this character, one of the most widely read novels in all Chinese literature.

Insurrections. Antagonism to the dynasty, or at least to Yung Chêng, showed itself not only in the sapping and undermining work of secret societies, but also in the open insurrections in more than one quarter. One of the earliest of these was that under a chief named Lo-puh, in Tsinghai. Over two hundred thousand men, largely Buddhist monks, were induced to throw in their lot with the movement, but General Nien so vigorously pushed the campaign against the rebels that it was in the course of a short time completely crushed. The rebel leader was once surprised in bed and only succeeded in escaping by disguising himself in a woman's clothes. The crushing of the rebellion was followed up by an imperial edict to the effect that from henceforth no monastery should contain more than three hundred monks· and that these should not be permitted to carry arms.

A second and more serious rebellion broke out in A. D. 1726 in the southwest provinces of Kweichau, Szechwan and Yunnan. It was brought about mainly by the independent attitude of the aboriginal tribes, and the chief purpose of the three years' campaign of subjugation was to establish more completely the Imperial rule over these semi-barbarous clans. This was accomplished through the skill and valor of the Chinese generals and soldiers, though not without the expenditure of much treasure and human life.

The war with the Eleuths, over whom Galdan Chering was now ruling in the room of his father, was not prosecuted during this reign, and the Chinese forces were withdrawn from the desert of Gobi.

Foreign Affairs. With the outside nations the relations of China continued much as in the preceding reign. With *Portugal* matters made little or no advance. Père Magaillans, who had in the previous reign been "loaden for four whole months together with nine chains, three about his neck, his arms and his legs," but who had, like the Apostle Paul, been delivered by a great earthquake, an earthquake which shook all Peking, returned to China about A. D. 1723 with a letter from the Pope, and was permitted to have an audience with the Emperor. The only result was the humiliation of the envoys who were represented as belonging to "the subject nations." Moreover, the citizens of Macao were not too well pleased with the necessity of paying for the thirty chests of presents which had been graciously accepted by the Emperor.

The *Russian* Embassy, which was sent by the Empress Catherine in A. D. 1727, was more fortunate. A mission consisting of six ecclesiastics and four laymen was permitted to remain at Peking for the purpose of studying the Chinese and Manchu languages. It was arranged that the *personnel* of the mission should be changed every ten years and the Emperor seems to have jumped at the chance of getting interpreters from elsewhere than the Order of Jesus. The caravan trade was also regulated, and the treaty signed August A. D. 1727, which continued in force till June, 1858, is said by Dr. Williams to be the longest-lived treaty on record.

EDICT AGAINST THE MISSIONARIES. The literati began from the commencement of the reign of Yung Chêng to push their opposition to the "Religion of the Lord of Heaven," and presented a memorial soon after his accession petitioning for the banishment of the foreign priests and the conversion of the churches to " other and better uses." Perhaps the Emperor himself was inclined to anti-foreign opinions, and the fact that certain members of the royal family, who seemed possible rivals to himself, had embraced Christianity, made his inclination the more pronounced. But indeed he seemed to be genuinely concerned lest China should become Christian. He was a votary of a foreign religion himself, being a daily worshiper of the Buddha, but he contemplated with something like consternation the prospect of a Christian China. " You wish," he said, " that all the Chinese should become Christians, and indeed your creed commands it. I am well aware of this, but in that event what would become of us? Should we not soon be merely the subjects of your kings? " Consequently, a hostile edict was issued in 1724 and the missionaries obeyed the decree of banishment to the extent of retiring to Canton, leaving three hundred thousand converts well-nigh shepherdless. Some attempt on the part of a few of the priests to return to their flocks was met with sterner measures, and in 1732 all the priests who could be " rounded up " were deported to the Portuguese possession of Macao.

THE REFORMS OF YUNG CHÊNG. In spite of the severe measures adopted against the propagation of Christianity, the missionaries themselves are loud in their testimony to the general justice and beneficence of Yung Chêng's reign. He was, they said, indefatigable in work, and was ever ready to recognize merit and reward virtue. Among the reforms he introduced was one to limit to the Emperor himself the right to sign a *sentence of death*. Like T'ai Tsung of the T'ang dynasty, he desired the greatest possible deliberation in a matter of such importance and required that the case should be presented to him three times, lest in the first instance he should be tempted to act impulsively.

To encourage *agriculture* he made a law that in future the taxes should be paid by the proprietors, instead of by the tenants of the land. Still more significant was the remarkable order given in 1732 that in future the city governor should annually supply him with the name of the peasant who had been most diligent in cultivating the soil, in preserving the unity of the family and in frugality and temperance of life. Such model peasants were to be made mandarins of the eighth class, with a right to wear the mandarin's robe, to sit in the presence of the Governor and to take tea with him. On their death, moreover, they were to be awarded the crowning glory of having their names inscribed in the Halls of the Ancestors.

YUNG CHÊNG AS AUTHOR. Possibly on the principle that "what one does through another one does himself," Yung Chêng is to be numbered among the authors of China. To begin with, he has the credit, filial perhaps rather than literary, of amplifying and commenting on the *Sacred Edicts* of K'ang Hsi. In the next place, he is held responsible for a truly remarkable *Treatise on War*. It is entitled the "Ten Precepts" and was designed to secure in perpetuity the prestige and permanence of Manchu sovereignty. These precepts may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. Fathers and mothers to have tender care of their children.

2. Children to be subordinate to parents and the younger children to the elder.
3. Good relations to be maintained with all the world.
4. Parents to instruct children to obey the laws and to have respect for magistrates.
5. Soldiers to occupy themselves with the cultivation of the land.
6. Soldiers to render themselves skillful with bow and arrows, on foot and on horseback.
7. Soldiers to be economical, especially in the matter of marriages and funerals.
8. Soldiers to avoid excesses in wine.
9. Soldiers to avoid gambling.
10. Soldiers to be careful of life, by avoiding fights, homicides, duels and the like.

Truly, we have here a "military treatise" which, if followed to the letter, would go a long way towards rendering war impossible.

THE GREAT EARTHQUAKE. Earthquakes are recorded in previous reigns as working havoc in and around Peking. A very serious one visited the capital in the reign of K'ang Hsi. But the earthquake which visited Peking in 1730 all but destroyed the city. It is said that in a few minutes a hundred thousand persons were buried in the ruins. The Imperial Palace fared no better than the huts of the common people. There was general misery, in the midst of which the Emperor came nobly to the front. He gave liberally of his own private means, already strained by the terrible floods which had devastated the land prior to the earthquake, for the relief of the sufferers, and, strange as the fact may appear in the light of the Edict of 1724, a thousand ounces of gold were bestowed upon the Christian missionaries who remained in the northern capital to enable them to repair the damage done to the churches. It is a pleasant reflection that in calamity most people are able to put aside their prejudices and to learn a larger outlook upon humanity.

DEATH OF YUNG CHÊNG. Yung Chêng died Oct. 5, 1735, after a "highly creditable" reign. He had just given audience to his ministers when he was taken ill. He died so suddenly that he had no opportunity to nominate his successor.

NOTES

1. See for "Secret Societies," Stanton, Pickering, Groot ("Sectarianism and Persecution in China") and an article by A. Maybon, "*Mercure de France*," June 1912.

2. Giles, "Chinese Literature," pp. 350 ff.

CHAPTER XXI

THE REIGN OF CH'IEN LUNG

A. D. 1736–1796.

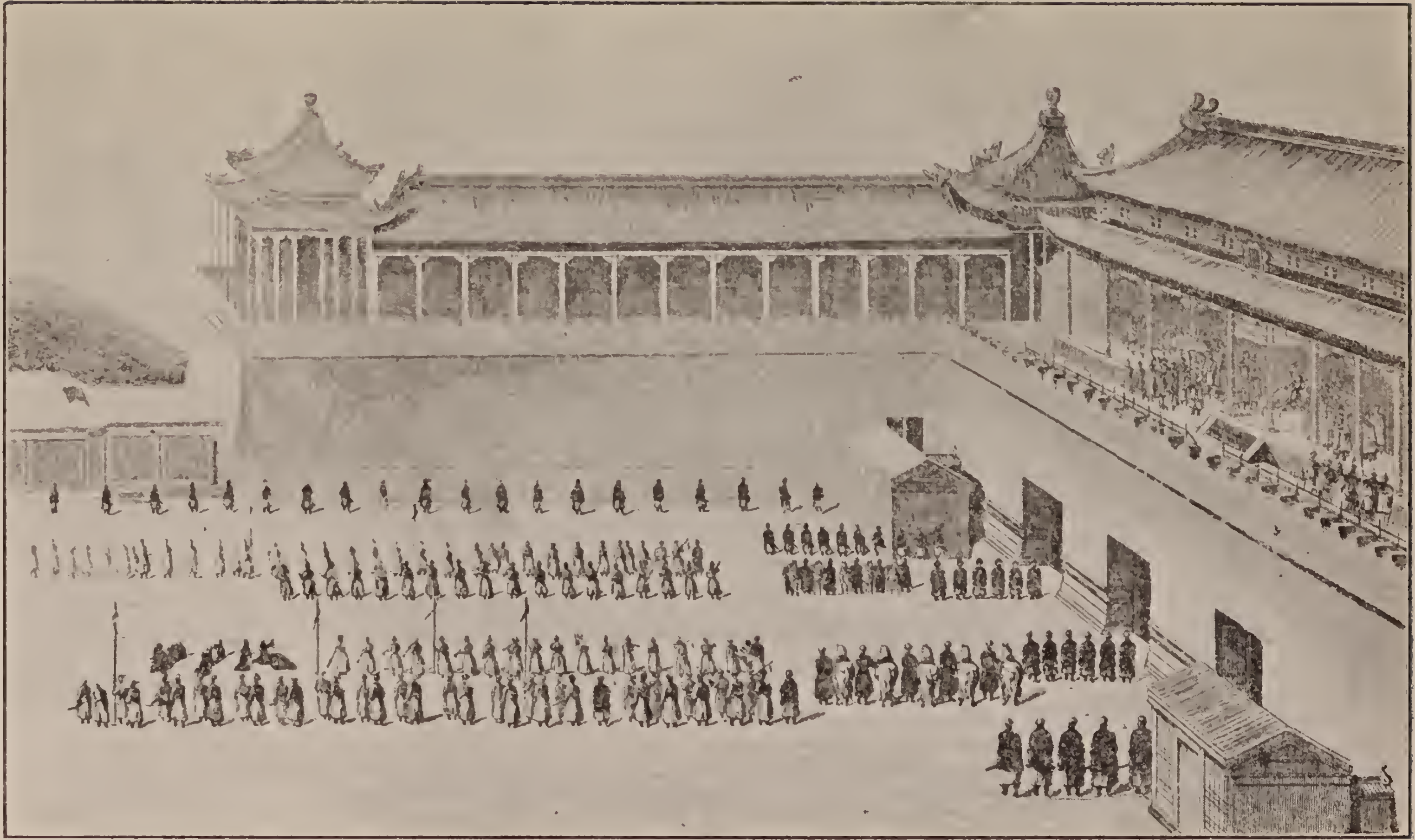
Ch'ien Lung — Attitude towards Christianity — Rebellion in Southwest — War in Central Asia — The Flight of a Tatar Tribe — War in Burmah — Conquest of the Miaotsz — War in Tibet — Formosa — The Macartney Mission — The Dutch Mission — Ch'ien Lung and Literature — Festivities — The Abdication of Ch'ien Lung.

CH'IEN LUNG. Hung-li, the fourth son of Yung Chêng, ascended the throne under the title of *Ch'ien Lung*. The royal name, bestowed according to the Chinese custom, after death, was Kao Tsung. Although twenty-five years old, he at once appointed four regents upon whose counsel he might rely. At first this was taken to imply that he was disinclined to the cares and responsibilities of rulership, and desirous rather of devoting his days to the studies to which his father's wishes, as well as his own leanings, disposed him. But the marvelous energy which he displayed just as soon as he did assume the reins of government quickly dissipated these apprehensions and, although his early devotion to study continued throughout life, it was but as one of many means for equipping himself for the tremendous task laid upon him. His accession was marked by a striking act of clemency, rare enough in Oriental annals. The princes of the royal family, who, under the previous reign had been banished or degraded, were restored to their dignities and given the privilege of wearing that badge of close relationship, the yellow girdle.

Attitude towards Christianity. The hopes of the missionaries were at first high, but favorable expectations were not realized. The regents were hostile and the laws against the preaching of Christianity remained in force. In individual cases, however, favor was shown to the Jesuits, and two of their number, the painters and architects Castiglioni and Attiret, were employed for the purpose of building the royal palace and pavilions, and, incidentally, painting the royal countenance. The security of these artist priests was furthermore useful in obtaining favors for others. Further south the Christian teachers did not fare so well, and a terrible persecution broke out in the province of Fuhkien. A number of Spanish Dominicans were seized, tortured and decapitated, and the like fate was shared by a large number of their converts. Some excuse may possibly be urged for the reactionary feeling, in the light of the terrible massacres of Chinese which had recently taken place under the Spaniards in the Philippines. After A. D. 1747 the missionaries were unmolested for a generation, but in 1784 a new inquisition was ordered through the discovery that priests were still abroad in disguise. Eighteen of these were captured, of whom six succumbed to the hardships of imprisonment, nine left the country and three entered the service of the Emperor. It is worth remembering that this was " the last general crusade officially undertaken against foreign propagandists."

Rebellion in the Southwest. Shortly after the accession of Ch'ien Lung his mettle was tried by a formidable rebellion which broke out in the southwest provinces and extended to Hunan and Kwangsi. General Chang Kwang-sze was sent to the seat of disturbance and prosecuted the campaign with such success that the trouble was over in four months. Unfortunately, the general was not able to repeat his success when the aborigines of Szechwan, under Salopan, revolted in 1746. General Chang and a fellow-general quarreled, and in consequence failed. The penalty of failure was a polite invitation from the Emperor for each to commit suicide, and the laurels of the new campaign were reaped by General Fu-ti, who was himself destined in later years to repeat the tragedy of the famous soldier he had superseded. Solon's aphorism "Let no man be called happy till his death" is abundantly applicable to the great names of China.

Wars in Central Asia. Yung Chêng's policy of retreat from Central Asia proved unfortunate and the reëstablishment of Chinese authority cost Ch'ien Lung an immense sacrifice of blood and treasure. The circumstances under which interference again became necessary are briefly as follows: The death of the Eleuth chief led to a contest for the succession between a son named Dardsha and a more distant relative Dayatsi. The cause of the latter was espoused by the fickle and ambitious Amursana, who had regard mainly to his own profit. Dardsha was slain and then the allies fell out. Amursana fled to the Chinese court and under specious promises of allegiance obtained the support of the Emperor. Notwithstanding his pledge, he soon began to assume the airs of independent sovereignty, and, on being summoned to Peking, truculently prepared for war. Ch'ien Lung, too, made preparations, determined to hunt down his adversary " like a wolf," though the nobles of the court strongly advised him to leave Central Asia to its own dissensions. The campaign was planned by the Emperor to work out with the precision of a game of chess, but the plans miscarried for a time, and the Chinese statesmen were all the more anxious to give up the enterprise. Even Ch'ien Lung hesitated for a time. He soon, however, recovered his determination, and fortunately two generals were forthcoming who were equal to the task assigned them. These were the already famous Fu-ti and General Chao. The one was a Manchu and the other a Chinaman, but they worked well together, and before very long Amursana was a fugitive. He died of smallpox in Russian territory, and so great was Ch'ien Lung's desire to gloat over the corpse of his foe, or perhaps to make assurance doubly sure, that he insisted for a time on the body being forwarded to Peking. Fortunately, probably, for the health of the Emperor, the Russians proved stubborn. The victorious generals were received with almost royal honors and the Emperor went a day's journey to meet them. A curious light is thrown upon the ceremonialism of Chinese life by the story that after the death of Chao the Emperor still went to visit him. He had the body placed in a chair, dressed up as in life, and addressed the corpse with



THE ELEUTHS PAY HOMAGE TO CH'IEN LUNG

courteous solicitude, expressing the hope for a speedy recovery.

With the pacification of Kashgaria as *un fait accompli* Ch'ien Lung, leaving his " far-flung " frontier to the west as it had been in the glorious times of the Han and T'ang dynasties, was enabled to turn his attention to other problems.

" THE FLIGHT OF A TATAR TRIBE." One remarkable result of the improved conditions in Central Asia within the sphere of Chinese influence is seen in the return of the Turguts, a story so graphically described by De Quincy in an essay which has been termed by Dr. David Masson as a " noble effort of historical painting done with a sweep and breadth of poetic imagination entitling it, though a history, to rank also among his prose phantasies." The Turguts were a tribe which had settled across the Russian border on the banks of the Volga in order to escape the troubles caused by the ambitious projects of Galdan. Their new home pleased them after a while no better than the old, and when they heard of the new era of peace brought about by the conquests of Ch'ien Lung, their homesickness rendered intolerable the exactions of the Russian government and the laws as to conscription in which they had hitherto acquiesced. Thereupon commenced a migration almost without precedent in the world's history. A great multitude of men, women and children, numbering at least three hundred thousand souls, secretly set out to regain the old pasture lands of the tribes once again under the protection of the Emperors of China. It was at the beginning of January, A. D. 1771, that the horde started eastwards and not long after the Cossacks, apprised, like Pharaoh, of the flight from the land of a multitude of useful serfs, started after them and pursued them with fearful slaughter. Month after month, for eight months, the fugitives continued their journey, harassed by enemies and tortured by thirst, their ranks thinned continually by weariness and the length of the way. The worst experience came towards the end, when the Chinese cavalry sent by Ch'ien Lung was already approaching to relieve them. How the Bashkirs and Kirghizes of the desert swooped down upon them, how pursuers and pursued alike, slaughterers and slaughtered, alike tortured even to madness by thirst, came at last to Lake Tengis; how all continued to rush, still slaying and being slain, into the water, till the lake was dyed and polluted with gore — all this must be read in the vivid account of De Quincy in order to realize it. Even while Turguts and Bashkirs were struggling together in frenzied hatred, came down the Chinese cavalry, and once again the slaughter, this time of the Bashkirs, raged, until the wild tribes of the desert were driven away to perish almost inevitably of thirst, " a retaliatory chastisement more complete and absolute than any which their swords and lances could have obtained, or human vengeance could have devised." The new subjects of the Empire were received with every demonstration of welcome, and next year a still further migration of some thirty thousand families followed the Turguts to enjoy the beneficent rule of Ch'ien Lung.

War in Burmah. In A. D. 1768 trouble arose with the kingdom of Ava or Burmah, and the Emperor handled the situation with his usual thoroughness. Raids across the border had long tried the patience of the Chinese governors, and fugitives, dissatisfied with the government on either side of the line, were only too ready to promote complications. Such complications, however, made it necessary to put an army in the field. Several notable victories were won by the Chinese forces, and the Burmese commander so little distinguished himself that his master sent him a woman's dress to wear, as more suitable than the garb of a soldier. Ere long, however, the invaders, entangled in the land, found themselves in difficulties, and on one occasion the general had to order a *sauve qui peut.* If it had not been for the superior diplomacy of the Chinese, their valor in this campaign might have availed them little and the matter might have terminated disastrously. So well, however, did General Alikwan acquit himself as a diplomatist that he saved the situation, and Burmah was induced to enroll herself among the tribute-bearing nations. Every three years, henceforward, the tokens of submission were sent to the court at Peking, and this was permitted even after the annexation of Burmah to Great Britain in 1886, out of a desire at that time not to open up new questions with China.

Conquest of the Miaotz. We have already spoken of the hardy aboriginal race shut up in the mountains of Szechwan, which from time to time was called upon to make such desperate efforts for independent existence. Ch'ien Lung was greatly desirous to reduce these brave mountaineers to submission, and the pretext of brigandage was as good as any other. The reduction was almost an extermination, for the Miaotsz made for the space of a year and a half, a desperate defense of their lives and homes. Even the women fought and every rock was defended to the last foothold. In the end the last fortress was stormed and the captured chiefs were sent to Peking. The Emperor sullied ineffaceably the glory of his victory by the murder of the men to whom, on their surrender, a guarantee of life had been given, and their heads, exposed in cages, spoke even more eloquently of the treachery of the Manchu than of the bravery of the victor. The victory was further commemorated by a monumental inscription, which is still to be seen under its yellow-tiled roof in front of the great Confucian Temple at Peking. The monumental tablets of Ch'ien Lung run as follows:

A. D. 1750. Ch'ien Lung. Conquest of the Miao country.

A. D. 1760. Ch'ien Lung. Conquest of Sungaria, the land of the Kalmucks.

A. D. 1760. Ch'ien Lung. Conquest of Muhamadan Tatary.

A. D. 1777. Ch'ien Lung. Conquest of the Miao country in Szechwan.

The fortunate general Akwei was made a duke, whilst poor Fu-ti, in spite of all his former services rendered to the state, suffered the fate of those who failed and was put to death.

War in Tibet. A still further experience in campaigning was necessitated by the condition of affairs in Tibet. The circumstances leading up to this situation were these. The Panshen Lama died, whilst on a visit to Peking, of smallpox, and the Emperor undertook to send back his goods, which were of considerable value, to his elder brother. The body also was sent back, but Ch'ien Lung built a beautiful white marble monument over the clothes of the deceased. The carving on this strange memorial has been pronounced the most exquisitely beautiful of any in Peking. The younger surviving brother of the dead Lama had been excommunicated because of his attachment to the heterodox sect of "Red Caps," but he at once claimed the succession and called in the stalwart Himalayan tribesman known as Gurkhas to his support. A Chinese general who had been sent to drive out the marauders found it easier to use other weapons than those of war, and promised an annual bribe to the Gurkhas if they would retire and keep out of Tibet for the future. Unfortunately the wily diplomat provided no means for the fulfilment of his pledge, and left it to his successor to discover that such a pledge had been given. The discovery, as might have been expected, brought on war. The campaign was conducted with remarkable skill and success, and the Gurkhas were expelled. The Tibetans acknowledged themselves vassals of China and "from that day to this tribute missions, in compliance with this treaty, have without fail wended their weary way through the wastes of Tibet to Peking, at the stated intervals agreed upon." [1]

Formosa. The island of Taiwan, or Formosa, had always been a problem for the statesmen of China, and most rulers preferred to leave the island severely alone, or to see it in the occupation of another power. But a local chief named Lin had defeated a small Chinese force which had landed there, and, Ch'ien Lung's pride being at stake, an army of a hundred thousand men was dispatched to bring the troublesome dependency again under Chinese rule. The work was done, somewhat perhaps on the principle of making a desert and proclaiming peace. The victory provided the top-stone for Ch'ien Lung's pyramid of military fame. The Emperor, however, needed a summit higher than any of the mountains of China for the vantage point from which he could recite his poem:

> " Beneath my feet my realm I see
> As in a map unrolled."

THE MACARTNEY MISSION. The port of Canton had gradually become a storm center. The concentration of trade and traders in this vicinity both created and expressed the grievances which were more or less inseparable at this time from the presence of foreigners in China. In the year of Ch'ien Lung's accession there were at Canton four English, two French, two Dutch, one Danish and one Swedish vessel. In 1742 the first English warship arrived at Macao, and from that distance surveyed the situation. In 1759 Mr. Flint, from Ningpo, made his remarkable attempt to reach the august ear of the Emperor on the subject of commercial misunderstandings. The effort ended in his own banishment and in the decapitation of the Chinaman who had written the memorial. Then came, in A. D. 1784, the incident of the English gunner who had unintentionally killed a Chinaman whilst firing a salute. The unfortunate man was eventually surrendered to the Chinese authorities and strangled. So the causes for misunderstanding multiplied and the British government saw at length the need of dealing with the situation in order to protect honest trade and curb the lawlessness which was associated with that which was not honest. Captain Cathcart was first selected in 1788, but died on the outward journey. There was some inevitable delay, but in 1792 the Earl of Macartney arrived with a large suite and at once prepared for the visit to Peking. Of course, the Chinese could hardly appreciate the importance of intervention in a mere matter of trade. It was well-nigh unthinkable to the high officials at Peking that matters of state could be associated with commerce. Nevertheless, the Emperor was grateful for the moral support England had given in the affair of the Gurkhas, and Lord Macartney was most hospitably received. The Emperor entertained his visitors most lavishly, and it is estimated that $850,000 was spent on the various entertainments. Ch'ien Lung was also much interested in George Staunton, the ambassador's page, then only thirteen years old, and the only member of the Embassy familiar with the Chinese language. Afterwards, as Sir George Staunton, this favored youth was able to write a most valuable account of the expedition. Lord Macartney had no reason to be displeased with his reception, but as an historian pertinently observes, " he did no business." Moreover, the Chinese had taken care to have painted on the sails of the vessel which carried the party up the river the words

"*Tribute bearers from the country of England.*" Consequently, in the eyes of the admiring natives, England too was numbered with the vassals. A competent writer observes of Lord Macartney's mission: "All he succeeded in exacting from the Government was a permission that his countrymen might trade at Canton on sufferance, as long as they obeyed the orders of the authorities."

THE DUTCH MISSION. If the English had no reason to felicitate themselves upon the results of their mission, what are we to say of the mission of the Dutch in the following year? Van Braam, the Dutch agent at Canton, thought it possible to succeed where Lord Macartney had all but openly failed, but he really opened the door for humiliations such as no other body of Europeans ever consented to accept. The chief Commissioner was Isaac Titsingh, and his story is one of incredible servility. As Dr. Williams puts it, the ambassadors "were brought to the capital like malefactors, treated when there like beggars and sent back again to Canton like mountebanks." They were fed on broken meats served on dirty plates, and, when they returned to Canton in April, 1796, they had nothing upon which to look back except a record of insults on the one hand and obsequiousness on the other.

CH'IEN LUNG'S INTEREST IN LITERATURE. Ch'ien Lung, like the English Henry the Eighth, had been trained rather for scholarship than for a throne, and on attaining sovereignty kept his interest in literature. He earnestly labored for the perfecting of his mother tongue, the Manchu, and had many translations made of Chinese books. He took pains to have the Imperial eloquence perpetuated in monumental inscriptions, and in this way also, as we have seen, commemorated his victories in Central Asia and elsewhere. As a poet Ch'ien Lung is credited with 33,950 poems, in twenty-four volumes. These were written between 1736 and 1783, and while the substance is often sufficiently mediocre, the Emperor sometimes succeeded in attaining considerable originality of form. In one of his Manchu poems he used for the first, and possibly for the last, time verses which rhymed at the beginning as well as at the end of the lines. The best known of the royal poems are the "*Eulogy on Mukden*" and the verses on *Tea*. The former, in praise of the old capital of the Manchus, is a curiosity in more than one sense. It is written in Chinese and in Manchu. The Chinese version is a mass of recondite classical allusions and quotations, which make necessary the services of a very expert Chinese *literatus* to interpret. The Manchu version is as simple as the other is obscure. The poem, moreover, is written in sixty-four different scripts, of which thirty-two are genuine varieties of the Chinese character and thirty-two invented forms of *Manchu*, designed to correspond with the Chinese. The poem on *Tea* was composed in 1746, when the Emperor was hunting in Tatary, and no doubt well disposed towards the "cup that cheers." He had it inscribed on porcelain cups of a new sort, so that all who drank might read. Translated by Père Amiot, the poem found its way to Paris, where it attracted the attention of Voltaire. The French poet addressed a poetical epistle to the royal bard of China, which commences as follows:

"Reçois mes compliments, charmant roi de la Chine;
Ton trône est donc placé sur la double colline!
On sait dans l' Occident que, malgré mes travers,
J'ai toujours fort aimé les rois qui font des vers."

Professor Giles in his "Chinese Literature" gives a spirited translation of the song written by Ch'ien Lung for insertion in a play entitled "*Picking up* Gold."[2]

The French missionaries were not altogether without justification in placing beneath the portrait of Ch'ien Lung the words:

"Occupé sans relâche à tous les soins divers
D'un gouvernement qu'on admire,
Le plus grand potentat qui soit dans l'univers
Est le meilleur lettré qui soit dans son Empire."

FESTIVITIES. Ch'ien Lung was not, however, engaged all the time either in writing poems or in making war. His reign was marked by many great celebrations, and the older he got the more he delighted in opportunities for elaborate ceremony. As we have seen, he celebrated royally the return of the victorious generals from Central Asia.

In 1752 he observed the sixtieth birthday of the Empress Dowager with pageantry which filled seven miles of streets with wonderful sights,— sights, however, which were denied to the people all along the route. These had perforce to remain behind closed shutters and drawn curtains.

In 1761 he celebrated with great *éclat* his own fiftieth birthday, and took advantage of the occasion to receive formally the great geographical work of the Jesuit fathers, Benoit and Hallerstein. In 1767 he made an especially grand function of the plowing ceremony. Finally, he celebrated the attainment of his sixty year cycle, the goal of his desire from his earliest manhood, a goal granted to few monarchs to attain.

The Abdication of Ch‘ien Lung. With age comes sadness, and Ch‘ien Lung was no exception. He had lost his mother, to whom he had always given the profoundest reverence, in 1777. The loss of his eldest son, in whom fine qualities had been discerned, followed soon after. The death of a trusted prime minister added a further blow. All this was an intimation to Ch‘ien Lung that his own work was done. The primary reason, however, for his abdication was his unwillingness to trespass upon a cycle belonging to a successor, or to pass beyond the years of the reign of K‘ang Hsi, his illustrious grandfather. The abdication took place quietly and Ch‘ien Lung lived three years longer to watch over the early career of his successor. The reign thus brought to a voluntary close is unquestionably one of the greatest in all Chinese history and its successes were due quite as much to the genius of the Emperor as to his good fortune. He was indefatigable in his attention to business and often, at the age of eighty, rose in the middle of the night, however rigorous the season, for the holding of audiences, a practice which some of the missionaries and foreign ambassadors were honest enough to acknowledge inconvenient. He made great efforts to avert the mischief caused by the rising of the Huang-ho, visited the southern provinces six times, was generous in the remission of taxes during periods of public calamity, and severe in his punishment of unfaithful officials. He was prejudiced against the Muhamadans of the northwestern provinces and is said to have contemplated at one time a general massacre. Nevertheless, he had a Muhamadan wife and loved her so well that he built for her a dwelling of two stories so arranged that she might face both the mosque across the street and her native Turkestan at one and the same time. Ch'ien Lung also took some measures, ineffectively, as it happened, for the suppression of the secret societies which had become especially troublesome about A. D. 1793. In the words of the Chinese proverb he "stirred the cane-brakes and roused the snake." From this half-measure his successor was destined to suffer severely.

NOTES

1. Douglas, " China," p. 171.
2. Giles, " Chinese Literature," p. 389.

CHAPTER XXII

THE REIGN OF CHIA CH'ING

A. D. 1796–1820.

The reign of Chia Ch'ing — the downfall of Ho shên — the rectitude of Sung — the Secret Societies — conspiracies against the Emperor — national calamities — "the Foam of the Sea" — the Opium question — the Amherst Mission — Robert Morrison — Thomas Manning — death of the Emperor.

THE REIGN OF CHIA CH'ING. The Tai Ch'ing dynasty forms no exception to the general rule, which finds such frequent exemplification in the dynastic history of China, that the strong men fought for and maintained the Empire whilst the weak ones brought it to the verge of ruin. The first century and a half of Manchu rule was a period of ever increasing glory and success; the last century was an era of disaster during which the thread suspending the sword of Damocles was wearing ever thinner. A prediction respecting the dynasty ran somewhat as follows:

"Over the land of peace and rest trouble rises like the tide; and the year sixteen demands that we prepare on every side. Now await the coming years of Lungshay and stalking Ma, when five nations will convulse our flowery land." Whatever be the astronomical conjunction here designated, the time of trouble was now at hand and largely through the "five" nations, taking five in its Chinese sense of the perfect number. Almost all our information as to the reign must necessarily be derived from outside sources, since the dynastic history of the Manchus has yet to be published. M. Rémusat speaks of the *Tung hwa lu* ("Chronicle of the Eastern Flower"), a work in manuscript in sixteen volumes, as the sole Chinese written authority for the history as late as the reign of Chia Ch'ing. Fortunately, the time is sufficiently near our own to obtain some idea of its general character. Moreover, the record is a somewhat dismal one, the record of a time whose troubles were fitly enough presaged by the appearance of a great comet, or "broom-tailed star," which hung, we are told menacingly in the heavens for twelve months from the time of Chia Ch'ing's accession. Beneath that menace Chia Ch'ing, "churlish, sordid and uncouth," begirt himself for the stupendous task of government bequeathed to him by his illustrious ancestors.

The Downfall of Ho shên. A serious loss sustained by the new sovereign soon after his assumption of power was that of the great Manchu minister Ho shên. He had risen from a very humble station and had attracted the notice of Ch'ien Lung because of his good looks whilst acting as a guard at the palace gates. Happily he had other qualities in addition to his good looks, and ere the end of Ch'ien Lung's reign had become almost what Cardinal Wolsey was to Henry VIII. Like Wolsey, too, he had his fall, though not till the accession of a new monarch. Too powerful to be at once assailed, Ho shên found his position gradually sapped and undermined by his detractors, and his appointment as superintendent of the obsequies of Ch‘ien Lung gave opportunity enough for charges of corruption. Sixteen articles of impeachment were drawn up, most of them frivolous enough, but there was sufficient evidence of his self-enrichment to condemn him, and he was graciously permitted to be his own executioner. His private fortune which was estimated at the huge figure of $105,000,000, was confiscated.

THE RECTITUDE OF SUNG. Another famous statesman was, with all his ups and downs, more fortunate. This was Sung Yün, who had risen from a petty government clerkship to membership in the Great Council. In this capacity he was chosen to accompany Lord Macartney on his " tribute bearing " mission to Peking. He acted throughout with great tact and had the unusual luck to please both sides. His acceptance, however, of presents from the English in recognition of his courtesy whilst engaged as escort, drew upon him the anger of his government. The presents were returned and he was degraded. Further trouble came through his outspoken remonstrances with the Emperor. With great courage Sung presented himself before His Majesty and upbraided him with his vicious and extravagant life, spent rather with actors than with men of dignity and learning. The Chinese ruler was no more pleased than was Herod with John the Baptist and indignantly asked what punishment was due to a man guilty of such audacity. Sung replied quite coolly, " Quartering." Asked to name another mode of death a trifle less dishonorable, the minister replied, "Beheading." Still again interrogated, he answered, "Strangling." By this time the Emperor's wrath was mollified and Sung obtained the applause due to his rectitude. Nevertheless, lest he should approach his sovereign too frequently with ill-timed remonstrances, he was sent away to Mongolia. Vicissitudes of fortune continued, and by A. D. 1819 the once powerful Censor had been reduced to a mere lieutenancy among the bannermen. Then in 1820, when Chia Ch‘ing's funeral was being celebrated in Peking, the new Emperor, Tao Kuang, following his father's coffin between long lines of officials, suddenly caught sight of the unfortunate Sung standing humbly in the throng. He went aside and embraced him, weeping, and soon after restored him to rank and to the governorship of Jehol. From that time onwards Sung lived prosperously until his death in 1835.

The Secret Societies. The entire reign of Chia Ch‘ing was disturbed by the agitations of the various secret societies. This was especially the case in the south. The whole valley of the Si Kiang was a center of intense political and religious unrest for many years. The government maintained the greatest severity against the White Lotus, the Triads, the Society of Heavenly Reason and such like orders, but without much result. In 1801 the throne decreed the summary execution of all members of the societies engaged in pillage. In 1810 the people of Fuhkien were warned that if they favored the Triad movement the severest penalties would be visited upon them. The Government measures in this direction cost, we are told, the sum of 100,000,000 taels, and in one province alone twenty or thirty thousand persons are said to have been executed. Ten thousand condemned criminals were in the prisons at one time and so great was the fear of the Government that meetings of more than five persons were proclaimed as seditious.

CONSPIRACIES AGAINST THE EMPEROR. In two conspiracies organized by the secret societies the Emperor nearly lost his life. The first was in 1803, when many persons in high estate, including even relatives of the Emperor, were involved. Even more keen than the dagger of the assassin was to the sovereign the indifference with which the whole affair was regarded at court and in the country. It rankled deeply that hardly any one rallied to the sovereign's side. "It is this indifference," he said, "rather than the poignard of the assassin which hurts me most." The conspiracy of 1813 was more serious still. An insurrection organized by the Heavenly Reason and White Lotus Societies broke out in Honan and Chihli; many cities were taken by storm and in broad daylight a party of conspirators entered the royal palace and fought body to body with the guards. The Emperor coming out was seized by the throat and it would have gone hard with him had not the prince Mienning (the future Emperor Tao Kuang) shot two of the assailants with a matchlock. A third was slain by a nephew (or cousin) and by this time the soldiers arrived. For his valor on this occasion the prince Mienning was nominated heir to the throne.

NATIONAL CALAMITIES. The unrest of the populace is only too easy to understand when we have our attention drawn to the terrible devastation of the land by hurricane and flood, especially when we remember the intimate connection the Chinese have always perceived between physical disasters and bad government. The great drought of 1817 caused the Board of Punishments to consult together as to whether they had been properly fulfilling their duties. They drew up a document in which the hope was expressed that Nature would soon reëstablish her proper order. The Emperor himself, in accordance with the old customs, was moved to self-examination and confession of sins for himself and for his people. Some sentences are worth quoting: "The remissness and sloth of the officers of government constitute an evil which has long been accumulating. It is not the evil of a day; for several years I have given the most pressing admonitions on the subject, and have punished many cases which have been discovered, so that recently there appears a little improvement and for several seasons the weather has been favorable. The drought this season is perhaps not entirely on this account. I have meditated upon it and am persuaded that the reason why the azure Heavens above manifested disapprobation by withholding rain for a few hundred miles only around the capital, is that the fifty and more rebels who escaped are secreted somewhere near Peking. Hence it is that fertile vapors are fastbound and the felicitous harmony of the seasons interrupted."[1] In spite of all this, storms and floods followed upon the drought, and the only reason the perplexed Emperor could assign for the visitation was that perhaps, since the storms had come from the southeast, there were officials in that direction who had "excited the ire of heaven."

"The Foam of the Sea." In addition to the sufferings entailed by the rise of the secret societies and the convulsions of unquiet Nature, were those brought upon the southern provinces by the pirates. The estuary of the Si Kiang has always enjoyed the sinister reputation of being the most pirate-infested water in the world. Even now merchantmen at times require an escort and the exposure of pirates' heads in baskets, or the bricking up of pirates in chimneys, has so far failed to deter these rovers of the sea from the pursuit of their calling. Chia Ch'ing's reign furnished unlimited opportunity for the display of their daring. Under two adventurous leaders, Ching Yih and Chang Pau, six hundred junks ravaged the coasts of Kwangtung for several years and made the Pearl River so dangerous that the Governor of Canton himself transferred his residence to Macao. In the course of these years two Englishmen, Messrs. Turner and Glaspoole, were made prisoners and their capture proved in part the undoing of the sea robbers. For the prisoners utilized their enforced leisure to learn a good deal respecting the organization of the pirates which they were able subsequently to turn to good account. Eventually the two chiefs were alienated and the government succeeded in taking advantage of the quarrel. The assistance of the English was also invoked on the occasion of the coming of the Siamese tribute by sea. This was a prize eagerly awaited by the robbers, but the ship *Mercury* scattered them most effectually and for once the foreigners earned the gratitude of the Chinese officials. "The story of those disturbed times," says Dr. Wells Williams, "to this day affords a frequent subject for the tales of old people in that region and the same waters are still infested by 'the foam of the sea,' as the Chinese term these freebooters."

The Opium Question. As though the questions already at issue between the merchants trading at Canton and the Provincial and National Governments were not sufficiently bristling with difficulties, another question now arose in an acute form for the first time. This was the question as to the trade in opium. The poppy, according to Dr. Edkins, is mentioned in Chinese books as far back as the Eighth Century. It was probably introduced by the Arabs and prized originally for its flowers which were esteemed by the Chinese next to those of the peony. Later on, the medicinal properties of the poppy were discovered, but it was probably not till the introduction of tobacco from the Philippines in A. D. 1620 that the habit of smoking opium commenced. The earliest practice was to mix some portion of the opium with the tobacco. The vicious habit became noticeable first in Amoy, which was the port of entry for Manila, and in Formosa. A book of the time, quoted by Edkins, describes the ill effects which were perceived. "Depraved young men without any fixed occupation used to meet together by night to smoke: it grew to be a custom with them. . . . In order to tempt new smokers to come, no charge was made the first time. After some time they could not stay away and would come even if they forfeited all their property. Smokers were able to remain awake the whole night, and rejoiced as an aid to sensual indulgence. Afterwards they found themselves beyond the possibility of cure. . . . It is truly sad to reflect on this." Edicts prohibiting the trade were issued from A. D. 1729 onwards but the efforts made to stamp it out though undoubtedly sincere, were without avail. The traffic remained in Portuguese hands till 1773 when Clive's conquest of Bengal led to the association of the East India Company with the unhappy business. With a curious casuistry the Company manufactured the drug in India expressly for Chinese consumption but, on their attention being drawn to the pernicious effects of opium smoking, they gave orders that no ships belonging to the Company should take any to China. After the close of the Eighteenth Century, says Capt. Brinkley, "they never carried an ounce of it in their own vessels." The responsibility for the demoralizing situation created must be shared by the East India Company with the smugglers who defied all law, foreign and Chinese alike, first from Macao and later from Lintin; with the *hong* merchants who evaded all regulations for restricting the sale of the drug, and with the Chinese officials who were themselves frequently the slaves of the habit and at least disposed to make illegitimate profit by its introduction. This connivance rendered all the edicts issued from Peking futile and even farcical.

THE AMHERST MISSION. Foreign relations were unsatisfactory throughout the reign of Chia Ch'ing. He was himself personally antipathetic to foreigners, as may be seen by the single episode of his expulsion of Père Amiot, after the latter had resided in Peking for thirty years. Still, apart from the opium question, the relation of foreign nations to China was provocative and vexatious. War was proceeding between France and England and the parties to the conflict seemed to consider Chinese territory as a kind of "Tom Tiddler's ground." At least that is the only interpretation we can give to the fact that in spite of the Chinese claim to sovereignty in Macao (leased to Portugal), England seized the place in 1802 to prevent its being seized by France and repeated the occupation in 1808. Later, the war with America took place and English cruisers played hide-and-seek with American merchantmen in Chinese waters without scruple. This almost inevitably led to protests on the part of China and, when these were ineffectual, to interference with English trade in Canton. Then the necessity of supplying the teacups of England with the national beverage led to the suggestion of another Mission, modeled after that of Lord Macartney. This was headed by Lord Amherst, who had formerly been Governor General of India. The party included as interpreter the famous missionary, Robert Morrison, and the picturesque traveler, Thomas Manning. It started for Peking in 1816 and reached the capital on August 28. Impartial historians have summed up the result in one pregnant word, "mismanagement." Others have talked about the "ignorance, pride, isolation and audacity" of the Chinese. The truth is that the mandarins of the court did not want the mission to succeed, and took no pains to apprise the Emperor of the situation. The Emperor himself was not necessarily to blame for fixing the hour of the interview at a time inconvenient to Lord Amherst. Chinese sovereigns were accustomed to giving audiences at unearthly hours, and it probably did not occur to Chia Ch'ing that he was insulting his guest by asking him to appear immediately on arrival and before his uniform had arrived. Possibly Lord Amherst, who had for a time held out against Manning as interpreter because he deemed the latter's flowing beard "incongruous,"[2] was over-fastidious in his insistence on the niceties of diplomatic etiquette. At this distance it seems a pity that the whole mission should have failed because of differences of this kind. In any case, insistence on punctilio rendered the accomplishment of any results through the mission impossible. It retired without effecting even an interview with majesty. A valuable opportunity for promoting mutual understanding was missed, and, indeed, extra reasons for misunderstanding accumulated. The Emperor visited with severe penalties, when it was too late, the obstructive mandarins, but possibly these had not very seriously misinterpreted the Emperor's own feelings towards the foreigners. At least his letter addressed at an earlier period to King George III begins with this sentence: "Your Majesty's kingdom is at a remote distance beyond the seas, but is observant of its duties and obedient to our laws, beholding from afar the glory of our Empire and respectfully admiring the perfection of our government." The letter ends with this other sentence, a very polite way of saying, "Ambassadors not wanted": "With regard to those of your Majesty's subjects who for a long course of years have been in the habit of trading with our Empire, we must observe to you that our Celestial Government regards all persons and nations with eyes of charity and benevolence, and always treats and considers your subjects with the utmost indulgence and affection; on their account, therefore, there can be no place or occasion for the exertions of Your Majesty's Government." A somewhat similar rebuff was given to Russia in 1805.

Robert Morrison. More than one foreigner at this epoch has a rightful place in a history of China, by the testimony of the Chinese themselves and out of recognition of the place they occupied whilst alive and the influence they were destined to exert after death. One of these is assuredly the great pioneer missionary, Robert Morrison, who was accepted for service in China in 1805 by the London Missionary Society and commenced forthwith that devoted study of the language which has made his labors so useful to so many successors. He arrived in China in 1807, after two years' study of Chinese manuscripts in the British Museum, and in 1809 was appointed translator to the East India Company. It is a curious sign of the timidity with which missionary work was at this time approached that when the Directors of the East India Company learned that Morrison was the author of religious tracts, they ordered his dismissal, fearing that Chinese prejudice would be aroused against the Company. Fortunately the agents on the spot had come to know

Morrison's value and secured the retention of his services. There is no space here for an account of the labors of Morrison as missionary and as translator. Suffice it to say that Professor Julien describes the "*Dictionary of the Chinese Language*" as "without dispute the best Chinese dictionary composed in a European language." Morrison died in 1834 and was buried at Macao, where he shares with Camoens the pleasanter associations of the place.

Thomas Manning. Less prominent, but still worthy of mention is Manning, who is indirectly known to all readers of Charles Lamb's "*Dissertation on Roast Pig*," and its reference to a certain Chinese manuscript which "my friend M. was obliging enough to read and explain to me." Manning studied Chinese at Cambridge and Paris and was by some regarded as the first Chinese scholar in Europe. He went out to Canton as a physician in 1807 and made several attempts to reach the interior of China. His travels in Tibet, and how he became the first white visitor to the forbidden city of Lhassa are mentioned by the Abbé Huc. His position as junior secretary with Lord Amherst's expedition has already been alluded to. But in truth a romantic career such as that of Manning cannot be dealt with in a paragraph. Our last impression of him is as living in a large unfurnished house in England with "a vast library of Chinese books" and a roomful of visitors drawn together by his delightful conversation. He died in 1840 and was buried in the abbey at Bath.

Death of Chia Ch'ing. The Emperor, whose excessive devotion to pleasure had for a long while made him a subject for animadversion, if not an object of contempt, to the best minds of China, died on September 2, 1820, at the age of sixty-one and after a troubled reign of twenty-five years. His will, which has been translated by Morrison, left the throne to his second son, Mienning, known as the Emperor Tao Kuang.

NOTES

1. S. Wells Williams, "Middle Kingdom," I, p. 465.

2. Cf. Chas. Lamb's letter to Manning (Letters i 195): "Shave yourself oftener. . . . Shave the upper lip. Go about like an European."

CHAPTER XXIII

THE REIGN OF TAO KUANG

A. D. 1820–1850.

Tao Kuang — the Edicts of Tao Kuang — political troubles — events in Canton — War with Great Britain — the Treaty of Nanking and its results — the situation at Canton — death of Tao Kuang.

TAO KUANG. Such was the name assumed by the Prince Mienning who had, as we have seen, earned the gratitude of his father and the more dubious heritage of the Dragon Throne by his gallant defense of Chia Ch'ing against the conspirators of 1813. He was regarded by those who knew him as naturally rather stupid or else very unnaturally reserved. It really seems that he suffered considerable deterioration as time went on. This may have been the result of the various quackeries with which he is said to have experimented in order to increase his physical strength. These, we are told, left him eventually toothless and hollow-cheeked. He is described as tall, lank and dark-complexioned. Yet he had evidently more character than his father, and could display on occasion a resolution which his detractors might even regard as obstinacy. He was probably sincere enough in his early efforts to cleanse the Augean stable of the court and may well have grown discouraged at the apparent futility of the task. Thence he sank into habits of debauchery which sadly disappointed the hopes which a creditable beginning had inspired. His life, moreover, was saddened by family troubles. One of his sons was a scapegrace and reprobate, devoted to the use of opium, and the Emperor is said to have slain him with a blow struck in a moment of uncontrollable anger — a moment vainly regretted forever after.

THE EDICTS OF TAO KUANG. We should probably be seriously misled if we formed our ideas of Chinese history from the Imperial Edicts, yet they now and then throw a good deal of light on the condition of affairs in China, as viewed from the Court point of view. We are compelled to say so much in these chapters of foreign affairs that it is not unfitting to quote from some of the Edicts of Tao Kuang, as translated by Dr. Wells Williams.

1. In his first edict the Emperor refers to his deceased father in the following terms: —

" His late Majesty who has now gone the great journey, governed all under Heaven's canopy twenty-five years, exercising the utmost caution and industry. Nor evening nor morning was he ever idle. He assiduously aimed at the best possible rule and hence his government was illustrious and excellent; the court and the country felt the deepest reverence and the stillness of profound awe. . . . But in the midst of a hope that this glorious reign would be long protracted and the help of Heaven would be received many days, unexpectedly, on descending to bless by His Majesty's presence, Lwan yang the dragon charioteer, became a guest on high . . . My sacred and indulgent Father had, in the year that he began to rule alone, silently settled that the divine utensil should devolve on my contemptible person. I, knowing the feebleness of my virtue, at first felt much afraid I should not be competent to the office; but on reflecting that the sages, my ancestors, have left to posterity their plans; that His late Majesty has laid the duty on me — and Heaven's throne should not be long vacant — I have done violence to my feelings . . . and on the 27th of the eighth moon I purpose devoutly to announce the event to Heaven, to Earth, to my ancestors and to the gods of the land and the grain, and shall then sit down on the Imperial throne." [1]

2. A second extract refers to the great drought of 1832. After various efforts to turn aside the wrath and conciliate the favor of Heaven, the Emperor published a memorial of which the following is an extract:

"Summer is past and no rain has fallen. Not only do agriculture and human beings feel the dire calamity, but also beasts and insects, herbs and trees, almost cease to live. I, the minister of Heaven, am placed over mankind and am responsible for keeping the world in order and tranquilizing the people. Although it is now impossible for me to sleep or eat with composure, although I am scorched with grief and tremble with anxiety, still, after all, no genial and copious showers have been obtained."

The Emperor proceeds to acknowledge: "The sole cause is the daily deeper atrocity of my sins; but little sincerity and little devotion. Hence I have been unable to move Heaven's heart and bring down abundant blessings." Then follows a detailed self-examination in which the monarch asks himself the most heart-searching questions. He concludes: "Prostrate I beg Imperial Heaven to pardon my ignorance and stupidity and to grant me self-renovation; for myriads of innocent people are involved by me, the One Man. My sins are so numerous it is difficult to escape from them. Summer is passed and autumn arrived."[2]

3. A third edict still may be quoted, this time issued for the purpose of bestowing honor upon the widow of Chia Ch'ing on the attainment of her sixtieth birthday. It runs in part as follows: —

"In the first month of the present winter occurs the sixtieth anniversary of her Majesty's sacred natal day. At the opening of the happy period, the sun and the moon shed their united genial influences upon it. When commencing anew the revolution of the sexagenary cycle, the honor thereof adds increase to her felicity. Looking upwards and beholding her glory, we repeat our congratulations and announce the event to Heaven, to Earth, to our ancestors and to the patron gods of the Empire."[3]

Political Troubles. In spite of all these highflown felicitations, the Empire was, during the reign of Tao Kuang, rarely free from political trouble of one kind or another. The first uprising was in Turkestan in the neighborhood of Kashgar, about 1825. It was suspected from what was to be seen of the administration of the Chinese governors that the virility which had characterized the spacious times of K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung was a thing of the past. Under the impulse of some such instinct, or in obedience to their own restless moods, the tribes rallied around one Jehangir, a descendant of the old chiefs or Khojans, and the Chinese garrison was massacred. A large army was immediately despatched, and after an exasperating and protracted campaign, which cost the government some ten million ounces of silver, Jehangir was captured and sent to Peking. Here he expiated his failure by suffering a cruel and lingering death.

The rebellion in *Formosa* and *Hainan* was less formidable and was put down by the use of bribery as much as by the sword. It is perhaps a mistake to speak of the rebellions in Formosa as ever being really suppressed, since no attempt was made to follow up the crushing of an insurrection by such a constructive policy as might ensure lasting tranquillity.

More serious was the new outbreak among the *Miaotsz* of three provinces in 1832. These had suffered cruel exactions at the hands of the lawless bands belonging to the secret societies, and avenged themselves by the slaughter of the impotent and indifferent officials. They were then attacked in force. Choosing for their leader the chief known as the Golden Dragon, the tribesmen prepared energetically to defend themselves. The Chinese forces were at first under the Viceroy of Kwangtung, General Li, but his incompetence and cruelty led to his recall and Tao Kuang then sent his father-in-law to continue the campaign. Contrary to the general expectation, and possibly also to his deserts, Heng nan succeeded in putting an end to the revolt in ten days. It is said that considerable success attended a kind of "poster campaign" through which the people were graciously advised to return peaceably to their homes.

EVENTS IN CANTON. The real storm center of the Empire, however, was undoubtedly at Canton. In the space at our disposal it is impossible to do much more than to state the more salient facts as fairly and dispassionately as possible.[4] Judgment will probably follow racial or national feeling and it is as proper to assume the patriotism of Tao Kuang and Commissioner Lin on the one hand as that of Lord Napier and Captain Elliott on the other. Circumstances being what they were and the limitations of human beings what they were, the result was almost bound to be what it was. It is our place to see to it that the difficulties dissipated with the battle-smoke of 1840 and subsequent years should no longer obstruct the mutual good relations between nations. The excuses that Chinese and English had for misunderstanding one another then are in no sense valid for us to-day. The fact that the difficulties at Canton were increasing with time and that the day was drawing near for the charter of the East India Company to expire prompted the British Government to prepare the way for a new order of things which, it was hoped, would be more satisfactory than the old. The old method was for the foreign merchants to be represented by a body called the *Tai pan*, the Chinese by the *Co hong*, and for the Chinese trade authorities to be the Viceroy of Kwangtung and an official from Peking known as the Hoppo. The plan, so far as it worked at all, worked on a basis of mutual arrangement and compromise. The new plan adopted by England was for a Commissioner to be appointed who should represent not the merchants merely, but the Government, and who should have *diplomatic* relations with the Chinese Government. In the commission forwarded to Lord Napier (the first appointee) by King George the Fourth, dated December 10, 1833, the objects were clearly enough stated. The Commissioner was expected to foster and protect trade at Canton, to extend trade wherever possible in other directions, and to open up direct communication with Peking. The mistake was, however, made of sending no real notice of the appointment to China, of failing to make clear the relation of Lord Napier to the Government rather than to the merchants, and of overlooking the inability of the Commissioner to control other nations than his own, let alone the smugglers of all nations. So when, with the expiration of the charter of the East India Company, Lord Napier commenced his task, there was not the smallest likelihood that he would be able to carry it to a successful conclusion. To begin with, it was impossible to open up communications with the Viceroy except through the *hong*. There is an element even of burlesque, if one were not sensible of the terrible strain imposed by the proceedings upon the Commissioner, in the bandying to and forth of missives such as those from which we quote. Here is a characteristic bit of epistolary conceit from the Governor: "To sum up the whole matter, the nation has its laws. Even England has its laws. How much more the Celestial Empire! How flaming bright are its great laws and ordinances! More terrible than the awful thunderbolts!

Under this whole bright heaven none dares to disobey them. Under its shelter are the four seas. Subject to its soothing care are ten thousand kingdoms. The said barbarian eye (Lord Napier) having come over a sea of several myriads of miles in extent to examine and have superintendence of affairs, must be a man thoroughly acquainted with the principles of high dignity." [5]

And not altogether unlike is the letter from the Commissioner which concludes as follows: "I must now request you to declare to them (the Hong merchants) that His Majesty, the King of England, is a great and powerful monarch, that he rules over an extent of territory in the four quarters of the world more comprehensive in space and infinitely more so in power than the whole Empire of China, that he commands armies of bold and fierce soldiers who have conquered wherever they went; and that he is possessed of great ships where no native of China has ever yet dared to show his face. Let the Governor then judge if such a monarch will be 'reverently obedient' to any one." [6]

It is not to be greatly wondered at that, while much of the trade went on as usual, the poor Commissioner, buffeted by many unexpected rebuffs, caught a fever from which he died at Macao on Oct. 11, 1834.

The *impasse* was unbroken when Captain Elliott (afterwards Sir Charles Elliott) arrived in 1836. Again the attempt was made to correspond directly with the Viceroy. Again His Excellency refused to accept any document unless it were headed with the word *p'in* or "*petition*." Elliott's dignity balked at this, although he yielded sufficiently to address letters through the Hoppo. So the situation continued. Then a new element was introduced from Peking. The grandees at the Imperial Court were by no means at one as to the policy to be pursued. There were two parties in the palace, one, headed by the Empress, favorable to the legalization of the trade in opium; another, headed by the Emperor, demanding total prohibition of the drug. The latter party naturally won in the contest of policy and the triumph produced speedy and spectacular results at Canton. Captain Elliott was no friend of the opium business, but he nevertheless believed sincerely that the best way of controlling the traffic was by legalization. His position was influenced, moreover, by some justifiable doubts as to the *bona fides* of the Chinese endeavor to abolish the traffic. Many officials were openly in connivance with the smugglers and the son of the obstinate Viceroy himself was profitably engaged in the business. The cultivation of the poppy was likewise increasing rapidly throughout the provinces, and the trade in the opium was to all appearances nowhere being interfered with except in Canton.

Matters were brought to a head by the appointment of *Lin Tsê-hsü* as Imperial Commissioner. Few will question the genuine patriotism of this great Chinaman, though many will feel that he was *doctrinaire* and impetuous beyond the limits of good judgment. Born in A. D. 1785 in the province of Fuhkien, he had risen to the position of Censor and thence to that of Governor of Hukuang. He was gazetted Imperial Commissioner in 1838 and Viceroy in 1839, arriving at his post on March 10 of the latter year. Things at once began to move, though unfortunately, in the direction of war. Lin demanded the surrender of all the opium in the hands of the merchants. These, not as yet knowing the man with whom they had to deal, subscribed something over a thousand chests as " a sop to Cerberus." Lin knew enough not to be satisfied with this, and at once ordered a siege of the foreign settlement until the last ounce should have been delivered up. This was a serious situation, and Captain Elliott saw no way out of it except to ask in the name of the British Government that the merchants should obey the peremptory demand. In a very short time 20,283[7] chests were forthcoming, but Commissioner Lin would not raise the siege till the last particle was actually in his hands. All this entailed some forty-eight days' confinement of the foreign community, but Lin had gained his point. The whole of the drug was most effectually destroyed, and the Chinese counterpart of the " Boston Tea Party " might have done much to clear up the situation had not Lin confused the issues by other demands, such as that certain Europeans should be surrendered for punishment on account of alleged crimes on Chinese soil. These demands naturally were refused point blank, whilst the opium business, stimulated by the clearing out of the entire market, soon began to flourish anew, with raised prices and a brisk demand. Then occurred the arrival of two British warships and, in the tension of feeling then prevailing, it is not surprising that occasion was soon found for the naval engagement at Chuanpu on Nov. 3, 1839, by which several Chinese junks were destroyed. The whole lamentable dispute was thus for the time being transferred from the field of diplomacy to the bloody arbitrament of war.

War with Great Britain. "It was the closing of trade," says the Chinese historian Wei Yuan, "not the forced surrender of the opium, which brought on the Canton war." It is unfortunate indeed that the opening of China to the commerce of the western world was attended by war, and especially a war which was undertaken in connection with a traffic so iniquitous as that which dealt in opium. But it is difficult to apportion the blame justly between the two combatants and, once again, we must be content to recite the facts and take to heart the lessons. The first war with Great Britain was a somewhat desultory campaign. It was, moreover, carried on with a surprisingly small force on the English side, not more than nine thousand men being engaged at any one time, and the great city of Canton being stormed by a force of only five thousand effectives.

Only two ships were engaged in the affair at Chuanpu, but by the end of June, 1840, there were seventeen men-of-war and twenty-seven troopships with four thousand soldiers at Hongkong. Canton was blockaded and Tinghai, on the island of Chusan, captured by Sir Gordon Bremer. Then the fleet sailed northwards from Ningpo to Taku at the mouth of the Pei-ho. Here Captain Elliott was met by the Governor of Chihli, Ki Shen, a diplomat whose career up to this time had been one long series of successes, but who from this time onward had much reason to regret his entanglement with the Empire's foreign affairs. Ki Shen managed to persuade the fleet to return to Canton, where, meanwhile, things had gone from bad to worse. Poor Lin had now incurred the displeasure of the Emperor, who sent him word that he was "no better than a block of wood" and ordered him, nevertheless, to return to Peking, "with the speed of flames." Sir Gordon Bremer, returning to Canton, found nothing better to do than capture a few of the forts. This led Ki Shen, now occupying Lin's former position, to suggest negotiations, and a convention was drawn up, known subsequently as the *Treaty of the Bogue*, by which Hongkong was ceded to Great Britain and an indemnity of six million dollars promised, to pay for the opium which had been destroyed. All this, however, was arranged independently of Peking, and the Emperor, so far from ratifying the instrument, sent more troops and peremptory orders to destroy the foreigners utterly, "and wash them clean away." As Ki Shen failed to do this, he in turn was recalled. Then the war was resumed. The Bogue forts were captured, and the Imperial troops continued to assemble until there were in the neighborhood of Canton some fifty thousand Chinese soldiers, more or less equipped for war. Then a night attack was made on the British fleet and failed, and matters once again came to a halt. This unsatisfactory condition of affairs was relieved by the sending of Sir Henry Pottinger to take the place of Captain Elliott and the appointment of Sir Hugh Gough and Sir William Parker in charge respectively of the military and naval forces of Great Britain.

A vigorous campaign was at once initiated. Without any waste of time the expedition started northward, took the city of Amoy, retook Tinghai on the island of Chusan, and then in succession captured the cities of Chinhai, Ningpo, Wusung, Shanghai and Chinkiang. In some cities the Manchu garrisons made a very creditable defense; in others deplorable incidents took place, such as the suicide of some thousands of panic-stricken people at Chinkiang. Meanwhile the Commissioners Ilipu and Ki-ying were despatched from Peking, and when Nanking, the old capital, was threatened, they appeared on the scene and associating with themselves another diplomat, one Niu-kien, opened up communications with Sir Henry Pottinger. The negotiations this time went through satisfactorily, and on Aug. 29, 1842 there was signed on board H. M. S. *Cornwallis* the *Treaty of Nanking*, which Dr. Wells Williams has described as " one of the turning points in the history of mankind, involving the welfare of all nations in its wide-reaching consequences." It consisted of thirteen articles, of which the principal provisions arranged for the transfer of Hongkong to the British crown; the payment of $21,000,000 indemnity (made up of $6,000,000 for the opium, $3,000,000 for debts due to British subjects, and $12,000,000 for the expenses of the campaign); the opening, in addition to Canton, of the four ports of Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo and Shanghai; and the recognition of the principle of extra-territoriality. So anxious were the authorities to see the last of the foreign ships that the treaty was hurried to Peking and returned signed with unusual celerity. By

October the fleet had retired to Chusan, which it was decided to hold until the indemnity had been paid.

Results of the Treaty of Nanking. The results of the treaty of 1842 were far-reaching. Not only were the trade interests of Great Britain advanced through the possession of Hongkong (an island destined soon to become the greatest emporium in the East and the world's third largest port), but the other nations of Europe and America soon recognized the door opened for their own commerce. At last the walls of brass were broken down. Agents from Belgium, Holland, Spain, Prussia and Portugal appeared to measure the extent of their opportunities. Ministers extraordinary were appointed by France and the United States. President Tyler sent Mr. Caleb Cushing with a letter which has been much criticised for its "patronizing superiority," but which was really only an attempt to translate the President's thoughts into what he believed to be the appropriate verbiage of the Orient. It begins with an interesting little lesson in geography: "I hope your health is good. China is a great empire, extending over a great part of the world. The Chinese are numerous. You have millions and millions of subjects. The twenty-six United States are as large as China, though our people are not so numerous. The rising sun looks upon the great mountains and great rivers of China. When he sets he looks upon rivers and mountains equally large in the United States. Our territories extend from one great ocean to the other; and on the west we are divided from your dominions only by the sea. Leaving the mouth of one of our great rivers, and going constantly towards the setting sun, we sail to Japan and to the Yellow Sea." Mr. Cushing, nevertheless, arranged a treaty which was signed July 3, 1844, and cleared up matters so far as America was concerned. In one respect it went further, namely, in securing the right to the free exercise of the Christian religion in the open ports. "This right," says Lord William Cecil,[8] "sufficiently remarkable in itself, has often been stipulated by a State for its own nationals resident in a foreign country, but I doubt if it has ever before been known for a country to insist on the right of preaching a religion to somebody else's citizens." A French treaty was signed October 24 of the same year. Thus all the advantages which England had won by war were appropriated peacefully by the other powers. The one question which had, at least indirectly, been instrumental in bringing on the war was the one which remained totally unaffected by the various agreements. Opium was not placed among the dutiable articles. Efforts were indeed made to have the traffic legalized, and so controlled, but without result.

The Situation at Canton. The signing of the treaty of peace at Nanking had little or no effect in pacifying Canton. It is not creditable to the reputation of foreigners that in the city where they had lived the longest and were presumably best known, they were least liked. The law of extra-territoriality was particularly resented, and difficult to enforce. In 1847 a brutal assault on Englishmen visiting Fatshan was made and the now customary proceeding of capturing the Bogue forts was carried through without influencing the Governor or the populace. Ki-ying was perfectly justified in considering Canton an unsafe place for Englishmen and need not be regarded as trying to overreach Sir John Davis, the new Governor of Hongkong, when he stipulated for an extension of time for two years in the matter of opening the city to foreigners. It was probably a necessary step in order to avoid further outrages on the part of the excited populace. The criticism has sometimes been made that Mr. (afterwards Sir) Rutherford Alcock handled a similar situation expeditiously enough at Shanghai, but it must be remembered that the trouble at Canton was of longer standing and went much deeper. The Governor of Canton was now the famous (or at least notorious) *Yeh Ming-shên* (of whom more anon) and under his administration things became daily more serious. Six Englishmen were murdered five months after the last outrage, while three miles from Canton, and although the offenders were promptly sought and punished by Commissioner Ki-ying, there was no consequent improvement in the temper of the people. Things were in this condition when events took place, which dwarfed for the time being the anti-foreign agitation at Canton. These events are of such a magnitude that they must be treated in a separate chapter.

DEATH OF TAO KUANG. The poor Emperor had already had his sea of troubles and was now seriously ill. His fears were increased by the prediction of an eclipse of the sun for New Year's Day, 1850. This was so inauspicious an omen that the Emperor tried to avert the occurrence by postponing the New

Year celebration for twenty-four hours. He might, however, as well have tried to postpone the eclipse. The sick monarch grew worse and worse, and a few weeks later died, leaving the Dragon Throne to his fourth son, Hsien Fêng.

NOTES

1. S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom," I, p. 400.

2. S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom," I, p. 468.

3. S. Wells Williams, "The Middle Kingdom," I, p. 409.

4. Capt. Brinkley leans sympathetically towards the Chinese side of the case while Sir Robert Douglas' view is frankly British.

5. Foster, p. 59.

6. Foster, p. 61.

7. So both Douglas and Brinkley; Ency. Br. and Pott say 20,291 chests and Dr. Arthur Brown, 22,299. The discrepancy is of no special importance.

8. "Changing China," p. 46.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE T'AIPING REBELLION

A. D. 1850–1864.

Causes of the revolt — Hung Hsiu-ch'üan — the Rebellion — religious aspect — the march on Peking — the "Ever-Victorious Army"— end of the T'aipings.

Causes. A pamphlet in the writer's possession contains an Episcopal charge delivered by the Rt. Rev. George Smith, first Bishop of Victoria [1] (Hongkong), in Trinity Church, Shanghai, on October 20, 1853.[2] It says on the first page: "The very walls within which we are met have been echoing the fierce sounds of battle. . . . On this very morning, yea at this very hour, within less than a mile of the edifice within which we are assembled, the booming of cannon and the noise of musketry proclaim the raging of battle and slaughter. The dead and the dying have been borne past our dwelling, the winged instruments of death have been whirled past our ears and over our heads on their message of destruction." [3] The good Bishop was well justified in adding: "China, long immovable, obeys in her turn the general law of change; dynasties and thrones are crumbling to dust." The Manchu dynasty certaintainly in the T'aiping rebellion had a very narrow escape, but the end was not yet.

Nevertheless, the T'aiping movement was not in its origin an anti-dynastic agitation. It had little in common with the secret societies which at the time were so persistent with their slogan, "Exterminate the Ch'ing; restore the Ming." With these societies the T'aipings never really co-operated. Of course there were anti-dynastic sentiments in the air which gave impetus to the rebellion. Many other elements are likewise discernible. The rottenness of the whole Imperial system, with its feet of miry clay, had been thoroughly exposed in the recent war with England. Rage at the acquisition by a foreign power of Hongkong added to the flames of discontent with the authorities at Peking. Moreover, the floods and famines from 1834 onwards, the great earthquake in Hunan in 1834, the terrible famines in Szechwan from 1839 to 1841, all had their effect. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the proximate causes of the revolt were personal and religious.

Hung Hsiu-ch'üan. Who was the leader in the movement which wellnigh gave to China a new religion and a new dynasty, and which actually, in the words of a Chinese annalist, "lasted fifteen years, devastated sixteen provinces, destroyed six hundred cities" and (we may add) cost the lives of at least twenty million people? It was *Hung Hsiu-ch'üan*, a native of Kwangtung, a Hakka by race, and a *literatus* by ambition. He made at least three attempts to pass his examinations, studied desultorily various philosophies and religions, including Christianity, but was nominally a Buddhist until the illness which marks the turning point of his career.

In this illness he had a trance in which God came to him in the likeness of an old man, took out his heart and returned it to him purified, then gave him a sword and commissioned him to make war against the idolaters. On his recovery he bethought himself of the "*Good Words to Exhort the Age*" which he had received from a Christian preacher, Liang Afa, and recognized the God of his vision as the God of the Christians. Some instruction he gained from a visit to a Baptist minister, Issachar Roberts of Canton, in 1846, but Hung's Christianity was to the end of a very crude and imperfect sort, intellectually and morally. Nevertheless, he discarded idolatry, began to preach the new faith and gathered around him converts of sincerity and zeal. Together they formed the *Shang Ti Hui*, or "Society of God." The leader called himself "the Younger Brother of Jesus Christ," using the term "Younger Brother" (*ti*) in its Chinese sense of subordination and obedience.

THE REBELLION. Up to 1850, as we have seen, there was little that was political in Hung's program. The conflict with the Government came through the use of the word "*hui*" ("association") which put the movement into the category of the proscribed societies. Then came the return to the old Chinese method of wearing the hair long, instead of in a queue, a custom which branded them as rebels to the Manchu authority and caused the populace to ridicule them as *Chang-mao*, or "*Long-haired rebels*." But as in similar cases, the movement began with persecution to thrive and spread so rapidly in the province of Kwangsi that two Imperial Commissioners, Saishangah and Tahungah, were sent down from Peking to deal with the agitation. Then Hung took the bold step of proclaiming himself as *Tien Wang* or the " Heavenly King " and of taking for the title of the new dynasty he expected to found the name of *T'aiping* or " Perfect Peace." Never was a name more misleading adopted by a revolutionary movement! From the first Hung made for himself a trail of blood and rapine. City after city was captured and the Manchus began to fear the hour of their doom had struck. The truculent Yeh in Canton turned aside from his squabbles with the English to lament as follows: " The whole country swarms with the rebels. Our funds are nearly at an end and our troops are few; our officers disagree and the power is not concentrated. The commander of the forces wants to extinguish a burning wagon-load of faggots with a cupful of water. . . . I fear that we shall hereafter have some serious affair, that the great body of the people will rise against us and that our own followers will leave us." Yeh is said in the course of his administration to have put to death seventy thousand T'aipings, yet he apparently had little or nothing to do with the suppression of the insurrection. The great soldier *Tsêng Kuo-fan* did a good deal to check their advance northward, but, one after another, Yochow, Wuchang and Kiukiang were taken, and at last in 1853 the ancient capital, Nanking, was stormed and sacked, over twenty thousand Manchus being ruthlessly put to the sword. Here the Tien Wang now established his court, proclaimed his dynasty and appointed the Wangs of the East, North, South and West, who subsequently played an important part in the military operations. As for Hung he seems gradually to have settled down into a life of luxury and self-indulgence and to have lost the earlier enthusiasm and sincerity of his faith.

Religious Aspect of the T'aiping Revolt. In the earliest stages of the rebellion there was much perplexity as to the proper attitude to be adopted by foreigners. The Christian complexion of the Society naturally disposed many to sympathy and even to admiration. In the charge from which I have already quoted we read: "The rebel leaders are evidently men in earnest. Their unsparing destruction of idols . . . would be impolitic in men with less lofty aims than those of a reformation of the national religion. . . . Their compulsory prohibition of opium smoking, and their threatened exclusion of this contraband article from the country preclude the supposition of their being actuated by a selfish and calculating policy." Bishop Smith goes on to describe their camp services, Cromwellian-like preachings, to quote from their prayers, odes and creeds. He pictures also for us the waters of the Yangtse Kiang carrying down to the sea the ruins of thousands of temples and fragments of broken idols. All this was hopeful enough. Again, from another point of view, the rebellion seemed to invite sympathy, since there was, at least at the beginning, a desire to be on good terms with the foreigners. "Foreign nations," we read, "though far removed, are protected and cared for by the one great God; and China, which is so near, is under the same gracious care. There are many men in the world but they are all our brethren: there are many women in the world but they are all our sisters." This also was distinctly promising, especially in view of affairs in Canton, and possibly if strong outside influences could have secured a footing in the counsels of the T'aiping leaders, the insurrection might have been wisely guided to great ends. But the fact remains that the better acquainted foreign sympathizers became with the T'aipings the more rapidly the sympathy melted away. It was seen that no inroads had been made on the polygamy of the nation and that, if the Bible was being still studied, it was almost exclusively in its most sanguinary and least elevated passages. So the establishment of the Tien Wang with his court at Nanking marks in a double sense the end of the first and more hopeful chapter of the story.

THE MARCH ON PEKING. The capture of Nanking seemed for a time to have exhausted the resources of the Tien Wang. Perhaps, as he had now reached the point attained by the Mings in their overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, there was felt a lack of any precedent for further movement. But new operations were manifestly necessary, and a fine, if somewhat too audacious, bid for success was made in the truly great march which was executed by General Li. It penetrated a hostile country northwards for some hundreds of miles and reached a point only a very few miles from Peking. General Li was an ex-charcoal seller, and his march in May, 1853, is described by Captain Brinkley as " one of the most extraordinary marches on record . . . like marching across one half of hostile Europe."

"This intrepid commander," the historian adds, "deserves a place beside those of the great captains of the world." General Li, however, effected nothing that was permanently useful to the cause. He was checked by General Sankolinsin, and Li Hung-chang, who now appears on the field of Chinese history for the first time, hung on the rebel skirts and helped to make the retreat difficult. The failure of the heroic attempt to beard the lion in his lair by carrying the rebellion to the capital of the Empire was in reality the deathblow to the T'aiping movement, though many years yet were to elapse before its final downfall. But for the energy of others than the leader it must have collapsed much earlier. Yang, who had claimed to be the Holy Spirit, and had even on one occasion exercised the privilege of scourging the Tien Wang, on the strength of a revelation which had been vouchsafed him, fell into disfavor and was executed. The rebel leader remained inactive amid his thirty wives and one hundred concubines, leaving the entire management of the dubious campaign to the eleven Wangs.

"THE EVER VICTORIOUS ARMY." The real military genius whom the T'aiping revolt produced was the *Chung Wang*, whose brilliant movements against the Imperial troops on more than one occasion threatened the foreign settlements at Shanghai and elsewhere. It was this feature of the war which at length suggested the employment of foreigners to aid in putting down a rebellion as wasteful and tedious as it was blood-thirsty. The first foreigner to offer his services was Frederick Ward of Salem, Massachusetts, an adventurer under whose energetic and tactful leadership the medley hordes of recruits soon became a force to be known henceforth, and not undeservedly, under the high-sounding title, *Chang-shing Kiun*, or "The Ever Victorious Army." From 1860, when this force began its career, the tide began to turn, and in 1862, when Ward was killed in action, things looked brighter for the Manchus than they had done for twelve years. Yet the "Faithful Prince" (Chang Wang) was by no means at the end of his tether, and many severe battles had yet to be fought. Ward's little army was for a time led by another American, named Burgevine, who, however, proved a failure and was dismissed by Li Hung-chang, now Governor. This made way for the appointment of the young officer of engineers who was destined to be known as "*Chinese*" *Gordon*, until he won the yet more glorious title of "Gordon of Khartoum." The story of Charles George Gordon's wonderful influence, his knightly other-worldliness, of the splendid series of victories, of the "wand of victory" with which he led and inspired his men till they believed him invincible and invulnerable, of his chivalrous anger over Li Hung-chang's breach of faith in the murder of the surrendered Wangs — all these things make up one of the most fascinating chapters in the romance of warfare. By June, 1864, Gordon's work was done; the "Ever Victorious Army" was disbanded, and the Imperial forces were left to enjoy the satisfaction of dealing the last stroke to the rebellion without foreign assistance.

THE END OF THE T'AIPINGS. There was now only the capture of Nanking between the Imperialists and their goal. The Chung Wang was still a quantity to be reckoned with, but a breach was eventually made in the walls and the city was captured. The T'aiping leader poisoned himself with gold leaf and his son was captured after an heroic attempt had been made by the Chung Wang to carry him on horseback beyond the reach of the victors. Both were executed, although the execution of the " Faithful Prince " was delayed a week in order that the brave soldier might complete the writing of his memoirs. This work has been published and is an interesting record of the career of a brave and generous soldier. The victorious Imperialists sullied their triumph by digging up and desecrating the body of the Heavenly King. The whole of the fourteen years' struggle, thus brought to so tardy an end, is a long, miserable story of wasted enthusiasm and futile courage.

NOTES

1. The same year, 1844, witnessed the consecration of the two Bishops of the Anglican Communion for China, viz.: Bishop Smith of Victoria (Hongkong) from England, and Bishop Boone of Shanghai from the United States.

2. "China, her Future and her Past," 1854.

3. A footnote on page 1 says, "During the delivery of the charge a ball struck the church."

CHAPTER XXV

THE REIGN OF HSIEN FÊNG

A. D. 1850–1860.

Hsien Fêng — the "Arrow"— second war with Great Britain — the Treaty of Tientsin — destruction of the Summer Palace — the Russian advance — the Emperor's death.

HSIEN FÊNG. Though the reign of Hsien Fêng was, throughout its ten years' duration, overshadowed by the murderous rivalry of the T'aipings, yet there was much else to make it memorable, even if it can lay no claim to distinction. The Emperor himself, who was nineteen when he came to the throne, had no share of his father's ability and vigor. His reign, so far as he personally is concerned, is a decade of imbecile and futile effort to fill depleted coffers. He desired to issue paper and iron money and seriously proposed to have " counters cut out of jade stone to take the place of bullion." He had the narrowest conceivable views of the functions of government, and the officials surrounding him at Court were as anti-foreign as ever. Ki-ying, the one man at Canton who had labored for justice, and had in an earlier reign even petitioned for some measure of toleration for Christianity, was recalled and ordered to commit suicide in 1856.

THE "ARROW." What the compulsory surrender of the opium was in 1839, that the seizure of the lorcha *Arrow* was in 1856, the proximate and yet not the real cause of war with Great Britain. A lorcha is a vessel partly of Chinese and partly of foreign rig, and there were many of these vessels on the Chinese coast, engaged in doubtful varieties of business. Many of them were placed under the British flag at Hongkong, but unfortunately this was no reason for their not transforming themselves into freebooters as soon as they were outside Chinese waters. Consequently, the authorities at Canton had some reason for being suspicious when the *Arrow* sailed into the Pearl River on Oct. 8, 1856. It was boarded by Chinese in search of opium, the English flag hauled down, and fourteen sailors were carried off on suspicion of being concerned in piracy. As a matter of fact the foreign registry had expired fourteen days before,[1] but this was unknown to the Chinese. An immediate demand for redress was made by the British Consul, Harry Parkes, but the redoubtable Yeh decided to stand firm. Sir John Bowring,[2] the Governor of Hongkong, labored hard for peace, asking that Yeh should send the three nationals to the consulate and then make the request for their return on the charge of piracy. Yeh was, however, still obdurate, and, other things coming up to complicate the situation, Admiral Sir Michael Seymour on Oct. 23 took possession of the defenses of Canton. On the 25th he captured the Island and the Fort of Dutch Folly, and it was felt that now was the fitting time to insist on the promise to fulfill the treaty obligation, so long evaded, to open up Canton to foreign residence. In January, 1857, an attempt was made in Hongkong to poison all foreigners by putting arsenic in the morning's supply of bread. Fortunately, too much arsenic was employed, and the hideous plot miscarried. But the British authorities had by this time resolved to carry the matter further, and an application was made to the Governor General of India for five thousand troops.

Second War with Great Britain. In the war which now commenced the British had the coöperation of the French (their recent allies in the Crimea), who found a *casus belli* in the murder of a French priest in Kwangsi. On the British side Lord Elgin was sent out as High Commissioner and Plenipotentiary. The story of his arrival at Singapore to find an urgent message from Lord Canning, the Governor General of India, telling of the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny, and how, on his own responsibility, he diverted the troops intended for China to Calcutta, with momentous results for the British Empire and the world, is doubtless familiar to our readers. The delay in China was not serious. Lord Elgin reached Hongkong in July and soldiers to replace the troops sent on to India arrived in September. Baron de Gros, the French Commissioner, arrived on the *Audacieuse* in October and soon after came the U. S. S. *Minnesota*, with Mr. Reed, and the Russian gunboat *Amerika* with Count Pontiatine. The ultimatum of the French and English was delivered to Governor Yeh on Dec. 10, and the bombardment and capture of Canton followed on the 27th. On Jan. 5, 1858, Governor Yeh was captured, not without some farcical episodes, and was sent a prisoner to Calcutta. He was followed to the ship by the jeers of his own countrymen, who, in common with the foreigner, had suffered from his truculence. In Calcutta his wonted energy altogether deserted him; he did not even care to read, explaining that "he already knew by heart all there was worth reading." He died in 1860.

THE TREATY OF TIENTSIN. The Plenipotentiaries proceeded to Shanghai immediately after the capture of Canton, and thence journeyed to the Peiho. The Taku forts were bombarded, following upon which a treaty was drawn up, in June, 1858, at Tientsin, to be ratified in the following year. For the accomplishment of this end Lord Elgin's brother, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Bruce, was appointed, and the party prepared to go on to Peking. The Chinese, however, refused passage by way of Tientsin and demanded that the embassy should proceed overland. On the attempt of the ships to pass the Taku forts they were treacherously fired upon and two English gunboats sunk. It was during this unfortunate engagement that Captain Tatnall of the American navy, while assisting the British marines into action, gave utterance to the historic saying, "Blood is thicker than water." Some time, let us hope, that saying will have an application more comprehensive still, even as wide as humanity itself. After the *contretemps* of the Taku forts there was nothing for Lord Elgin to do but to resume the offensive. A large force was collected under Sir Hope Grant and the allies, French and English, landed at Pehtang August 1, 1860. There was some difference of opinion between Sir Hope Grant and General

Montauban as to the precise plan of campaign to be followed, but the Taku forts were eventually taken and the way lay open to Tientsin. Lord Elgin now insisted that the Treaty of Tientsin be ratified, and sent a party, including Messrs. Parkes and Loch, forward to Tungchow to prepare for a Convention. The story of the capture of the emissaries by the Chinese General Sankolinsin and of their sufferings during a ten days' imprisonment in a Chinese dungeon, is a familiar one. Only eleven survived out of the twenty-three Englishmen and thirteen Frenchmen who had been incarcerated. All the rest succumbed to the terrible tortures to which they were subjected. The kindness shown by the Chinese criminals who were Parkes' fellow-prisoners is almost the only redeeming feature of the story, apart from the courage of the captives themselves. However, the advance on Peking continued, the Anting gate surrendered, and on Oct. 24, 1860, the Treaty of 1858 was ratified by Prince Kung (representing the Emperor, who was now a fugitive at Jehol) and Lord Elgin. There were fifty-six articles altogether, providing, amongst other things, for the payment of an indemnity, the establishment of a permanent legation at Peking, the cession of Kowloon to England, the opening of Tientsin as a treaty port, and an apology for the attack upon the fleet. The French treaty, which was signed on the following day, pushed matters further and, in providing for reparation to be made by the Chinese for the confiscation of all buildings or lands which had ever belonged to the Christians, paved the way for claims extending backwards a hundred and fifty years or more. This was an unjust and irritating measure, which complicated questions of land ownership such as had been regarded for generations as settled. A more serious, because surreptitious, matter was the insertion by the Jesuit interpreter, Père Delamarre, in the Chinese version of the treaty of two other provisions, one securing that Christians should have a right to the free exercise of their religion all over China, and the other that French missionaries should have the right to rent land in all the provinces in the Empire and to buy and construct houses. When this pious fraud was discovered, the French Minister thought it would do no good to denounce his interpreter, and therefore the treaty was treated by the French as binding, and never questioned by the Chinese; the other powers profited by it under the "most favored nation" clause.[3]

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SUMMER PALACE. Lord Elgin felt that, inasmuch as the obstinacy and bad faith of the Court had been responsible for the protracted character of the war, a stern act of justice was necessary to reach the Imperial mind and heart. Nevertheless, excuse it as we may, the destruction of the famous *Yuan-ming-yuan*, or Summer Palace, was a most regrettable act of vandalism. It was almost the only thing in Peking which reminded men of the earliest glories of the dynasty. K'ang Hsi had built his palace and there received ambassadors and legates from afar. In the forty-eighth year of his reign he made of the palace a present to his son and heir, Yung Chêng. Ch'ien Lung in turn inherited it and joined the various buildings together under the name of *Yuan-ming-yuan*. The

Jesuit painters Castiglione and Attiret drew plans for the gardens and pavilions and the latter described it in 1743 as "a real, earthly paradise." Now what Frenchmen had assisted to build Frenchmen assisted to destroy. The incident was a ghastly prophecy of the inglorious aftermath of the Boxer revolt. No wonder Lord Elgin wrote: "War is a hateful business. The more one sees of it, the more one detests it."

THE RUSSIAN ADVANCE. Within a month from the signing of the treaties with England and France a treaty was signed, also at Peking, with Russia. By this treaty China ceded to the Colossus of the North all the territory north of the Amur and made possible the establishment of the great port of Vladivostock. Captain Brinkley alleges that General Ignatieff had played a skillful game of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. "Outside Peking he gave to the British and French envoys useful information furnished by the Russian mission; inside Peking he persuaded the Chinese that his intervention alone had saved the Empire from permanent occupation by foreign troops." [4]

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR. Hsien Fêng had doubtless been shaken in health as well as in complacency by his hurried flight to Jehol, and it hardly needed the appearance of a comet to create alarm. Prince Kung made a diplomatic journey to Jehol to arrange matters with regard to the succession and had hardly returned before the arrival of an Edict proclaiming the Crown Prince as heir. The further news of the Emperor's death on August 22 soon reached the capital and the new Emperor was immediately proclaimed under the title of Ki Tsiang.

NOTES

1. Oliphant says " more than a month." For all the events described in these paragraphs see " A Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission," by Lawrence Oliphant.

2. Better known perhaps as the author of the hymn " In the Cross of Christ I Glory," than as Governor of Hongkong.

3. " Changing China," p. 47.

4. Brinkley, " China," XII, p. 50.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE REIGN OF T'UNG CHIH

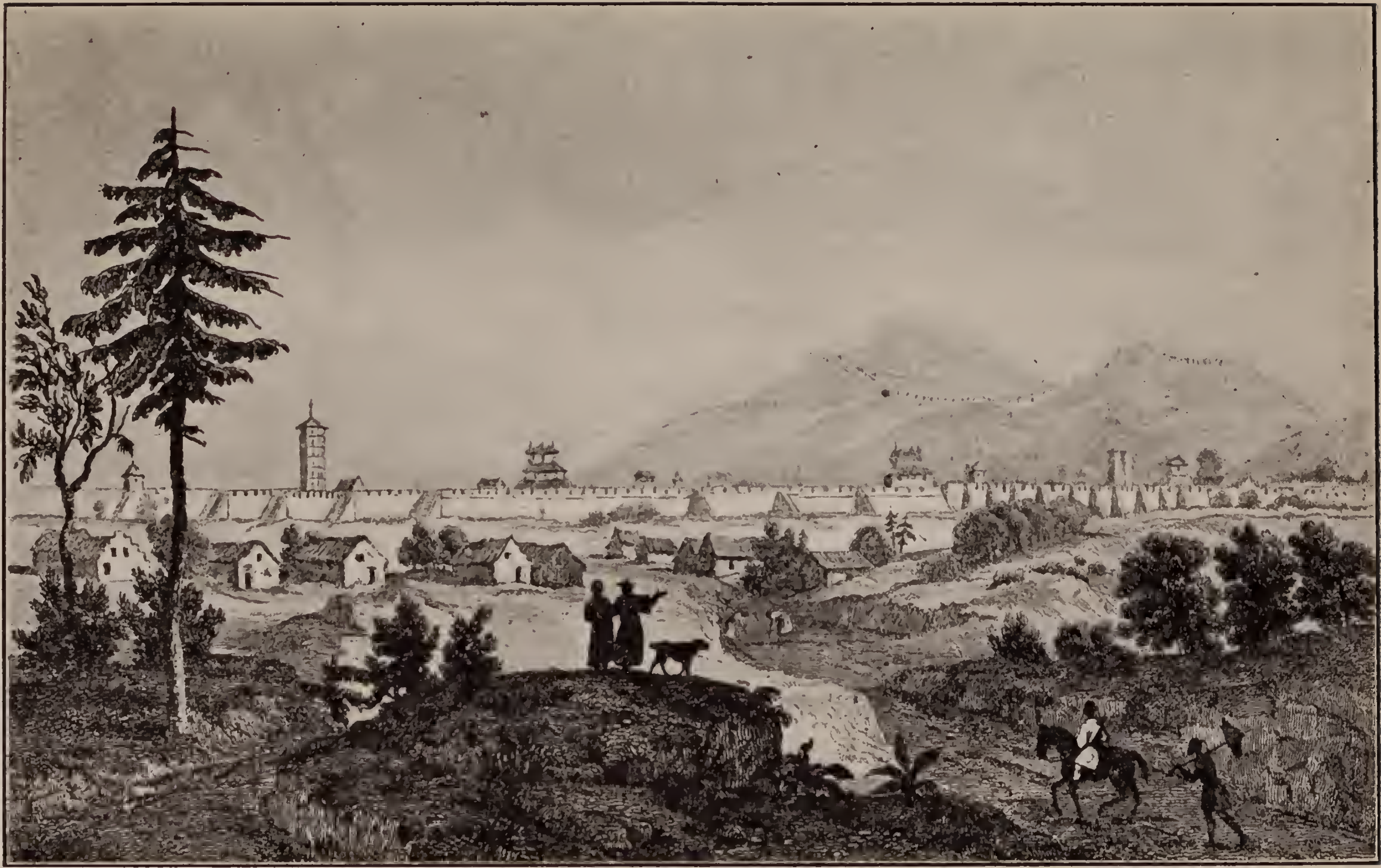
A. D. 1861–1875.

Prince Kung's Coup d'état — the Empress Tsi Thsi — the fiasco of the fleet — Sir Robert Hart — — The Burlinghame Mission — Chinese immigration — the Tientsin massacre — the Muhamadan rebellion — trouble in Central Asia — trouble with Japan — the Emperor's marriage — Audience given to the Foreign Ministers — death of T'ung Chih.

Prince Kung's Coup d'État. Prince Kung, the sixth son of Tao Kuang and brother of the deceased Emperor Hsien Fêng, had not sized up the situation at Jehol a moment too soon. There a coterie of intriguing courtiers, prominent amongst whom were Prince I and Prince Ching, with the statesman Su Shun, had possession of the child Emperor and proposed to inaugurate their command of the situation in connection with the funeral ceremonies of Hsien Fêng at Peking. Prince Kung, with admirable insight into the affair, at once secured a sufficient body of troops under General Shêng Pao, produced an edict (supposedly confided to him by the late sovereign just before his death), appointing as Regents the two Empresses Dowager, namely, the widow of Hsien Fêng and the mother of the new Emperor. He then seized the offending princes and Su Shun.

The latter was executed, the two former permitted to strangle themselves, and the *coup d'état* was accomplished. To make clear the absoluteness of their authority, Prince Kung and the two Empresses now proclaimed the four-year-old boy Emperor under the new title of T'ung Chih.

THE EMPRESS DOWAGER TSI THSI. Of the two Empresses the legal wife of Hsien Fêng was *Tsi-an* and generally known as the Eastern Empress. She was distinguished for her womanly virtues, but played no important personal part in the politics of her time. It was quite the reverse with her fellow Regent, the illustrious *Tsi Thsi*, who more than any ruler of China for the last hundred years deserves, for her capacity and her strength of character, the epitaph of "Great." She was born in 1834 and rose from a somewhat lowly position to become the secondary wife of Hsien Fêng and the mother of the heir. Thence she continued to rise till "by sheer ability, by her own wits, will and shrewdness, she attained the supreme power." Of the private character of this notable personality the most diverse views have been taken and we must look to the events which she more or less controlled to do their part in interpreting that side of her career to us. In later years, after the terrible days of Boxerdom, many foreigners were enabled to get close to this wonderful woman, and it is remarkable that those who were closest and most intimate have been to a large extent the most enthusiastic as to her general womanly qualities. For example, Mrs. Conger, wife of the American Minister at the time of the Boxer troubles, sums up her estimate as follows: "Through this



PEKING (FROM AN OLD PRINT)

woman's life one catches a glimpse of the hidden quality of China's womanhood. It savors of a quality that might benefit that of the Western world. The Empress Dowager of China loved and honored her great country: that country loved and honored its great ruler. May China continue to honor her commendable deeds and make it possible for the world to place her name among the makers of history."[1] In person Tsi Thsi was tall and erect, with pronounced Tatar features, eyes piercing as those of an eagle and a voice made for the exercise of authority. But forty-seven years of more or less constant pre-occupation with the cares of state lay before the Empress in 1861, so that we must not anticipate any judgment on her career.

The Fiasco of the Fleet. It will be remembered that the T'aiping rebellion was still engaging the resources of the Empire. This circumstance, which, together with the operations of the French and English, made plain the potential usefulness of an armed flotilla, led to the suggestion from Prince Kung, seconded by the British Minister, Sir Frederick Bruce, that China should proceed to equip herself in this respect. The occupation of the native city of Shanghai by the rebels had also suggested the collection of the maritime duties by three foreign officials appointed for the purpose by England, France and the United States. After the Treaty of Tientsin the advantages of the plan were so obvious, through the assurance given to the Chinese Government of a reliable source of revenue, that the plan was continued, the collectorship, however, being left in the hands of England alone. In 1862 the Inspector General of Maritime Customs was Mr. Horatio Lay, and as he happened at the time to be in London, it was to him that Prince Kung entrusted the business of buying a fleet. Whether, as Brinkley suggests, "the magnitude of the trust disturbed Mr. Lay's mental equilibrium," or whether he really misunderstood the character of the task assigned him, the fact remains that when eight vessels arrived in China under Captain Sherard Osborn, who was given to understand that he was to receive orders only from Peking and through Mr. Lay, there was at once a considerable display of consternation. In consequence, the fleet remained inactive and Sir Frederick Bruce was obliged to come to the rescue on behalf of the British Government. The fleet was returned to England for sale, Mr. Lay was dismissed, and the visions of China as a great naval power faded away into thin air. One good result followed in the appointment of Robert Hart to succeed the unfortunate Mr. Lay.

Sir Robert Hart. Foreigner as he was, no one better deserves a place in any history of China than the man who for so many years was known as "the great I. G." The honors which he was entitled to wear, and which, as he said, made him look like a Christmas Tree were not only from the rulers and learned societies of the world at large, but also from the land he loved and served so well. He had the Red Button of the first class, Ancestral Rank of the first class of the first order for three generations and the Brevet title of Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent. Born in Ireland and graduating from college in Belfast in 1853, he went out to China in a subordinate position in H. B. Majesty's Consular service. Thence he rose until his entry upon the duties of Inspector General in the Chinese Maritime Customs brought out and developed his wonderful powers of organization. The secret of his success lay in his loyalty and in his capacity for hard work. "I long schooled myself," he wrote in 1893, "into taking an interest in my work and regarding work done as work's best reward."[1] What the work was the present condition of the Chinese Customs service is sufficient to show. Even outside of this, out of mere good-natured readiness to help out an embarrassed Government, Hart's achievements have been sufficiently notable. One illustration is afforded in the successful negotiation of the Treaty with France in 1885. Nine months passed, 80,000 taels had been expended in telegrams; then all at once came the decisive message from Sir Robert on March 31: "Signez sans delai mais ne signez pas premier avril." To write of Sir Robert's services to China adequately would be to write a book. The brave old man had his faith in China sadly shaken by the Boxer Revolt in which his house with all its priceless treasures perished, but he took his part cheerfully in the defense of the Legation and, when all was over, his volume of Essays, "Those from the Land of Sinim," showed no abatement of generous judgment. He died Sept. 1, 1911, and we may fitly adopt for our own the words of an obituary notice in the London *Times* on the following day: "With his remarkable personality and wide range of sympathy, deep learning and almost poetic imagination, Sir Robert Hart endeared himself to a very wide circle of friends and acquaintances. His character was as complex as his personality was sympathetic. The Spartan training of a Belfast Irishman was tempered through his long residence in the East to a broad and tolerant acceptance of life in all its phases. Upon the traditions of a Puritan stock was grafted the easy-going philosophy of the East; and the combination of these qualities made up a character that stands out against the background of modern Chinese history as romantic a figure as that of General Gordon. . . . Taking him all in all, Sir Robert Hart leaves behind him a record as an administrator that has been rarely excelled and an example from which the Chinese in the long run cannot fail to derive guidance and benefit."

THE BURLINGHAME MISSION.[2] A striking departure from precedent was made in 1867 in the determination of the Imperial Government to send abroad its envoys. The choice fell upon the Hon. Anson Burlinghame, who had filled for several years the post of U. S. Minister with great acceptance. With him were associated Chi Kan and Sun Kia-kü together with several secretaries and students. Their avowed object was to inform the American and European world of China's desire for progress and, so far as Mr. Burlinghame was concerned, this was done with an enthusiasm which somewhat misled some of his hearers. The foreign public became immediately attracted by the announced longing of the far East for railways, telegraphs and shipping. In consequence a serious reaction was produced as soon as it was learned that the desire of China for these things had been somewhat overstated. Nevertheless, Mr.

Burlinghame's Mission was not without good results. It gave to the world a more sympathetic picture of China than it had heretofore possessed and showed that the Empire was no longer insensitive to foreign opinion. Unfortunately, Mr. Burlinghame's sudden death at St. Petersburg, February, 1870, cut short and rendered incomplete the mission he had undertaken. In the meantime he had visited the United States, England, France and Prussia.

CHINESE IMMIGRATION. One thing secured as a result of the Burlinghame Mission to the United States was the signing of a treaty in July, 1868, which is specially interesting to us to-day as encouraging the immigration of Chinese to America. The Treaty " cordially recognizes the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance." The first arrival of Chinese in the United States was in 1848 when two men and one woman arrived at San Francisco in the brig *Eagle.* Then came the discovery of gold and the lure drew men from every part of the earth. In 1852 over two thousand Chinese came. At first they were cordially welcomed and, in the light of later events, it is interesting to note that at a meeting held in San Francisco, Jan., 1853, the following resolution was unanimously adopted on the motion of Mr. H. H. Haight, afterwards Governor of California: " *Resolved,* That we regard with pleasure the presence of greater numbers of these people among us *as affording the best opportunity of doing them good and through them of exerting an influence in their native land.*" Later, when the number of Chinese had increased to some forty-five thousand, the opportunity of " doing them good " was forgotten and sensational fears were entertained lest the Chinese should swamp American institutions and corrupt American morals. In this way prejudice was created and fanned until Congress passed the Restriction Act of 1882 which was amended in 1884 and reënacted in 1903.

THE MASSACRE AT TIENTSIN. It was quite natural that the French treaty of 1860, with its insistence on claims to property dating back to the 17th Century, should create a bad popular feeling, but no one could have foreseen the terrible manner in which this feeling would eventually manifest itself. As in the days of the Roman Empire, when Christians were suspected of all manner of unnatural crimes and vices, so amongst the uneducated masses of China. The stories of kidnapping and making of medicine out of children's eyes were readily believed and in some cases the belief was encouraged by those in a position to know better. Unfortunately, too, the Roman Catholic Orphanages were not always careful to explain the eagerness with which they welcomed children to their institutions. Thus when deaths occurred, as of course they would, not infrequently, there was all too much material upon which to build a terrible fabric of misunderstanding. The massacre of Tientsin, which took place in June, 1870, was the result of popular panic, induced under these circumstances, and of the excitable temperament of the French consul, M. Fontanier, who resented the appointment of a Chinese Committee of investigation. The investigation of the Orphanage in question was the very thing the French authorities should have welcomed and even courted. But M. Fontanier drove the gentlemen sent to investigate from the premises and a little later at the *yamên* of Ch'ung-hou drew his sword, struck the table, and fired two shots from his revolver at the Commissioner. Pushed to the door, he then fired into the hostile crowd outside and was thereupon murdered by the infuriated mob. The populace then attacked the Cathedral, massacred ten Sisters of Mercy, two priests, four other French subjects and three Russians. In addition to the Cathedral, which was a constant annoyance to the Chinese as standing on elevated ground, eight Protestant Churches were wrecked, after which the mob calmed down. An investigation was ordered and, after pressure had been put upon the Government by a joint note from the seven foreign ministers, punishment was meted out to certain offenders. Possibly the men punished were only what is known as "purchased criminals," but Ch'ung-hou was sent to France to apologize for the outrage against French citizens. The wave of anti-foreign feeling in the meantime rose very high and the discussion of the whole problem of missionary work in China assumed grave importance.

THE MUHAMADAN REBELLION. The province of Yunnan had been largely peopled by Muhamadans, possibly since T'ang times, and recruits to the faith had constantly arrived from Koko Nor. During the T'aiping rebellion they had been grievously oppressed by the mandarins, and at length, goaded to rebellion, had taken the cities of Talifu and Yunnanfu. The two leaders were at first Ma and Tu. The former after a while returned to Manchu allegiance and fought against his former associates.

The officials seem to have had the usual idea of suppressing the rebellion by a campaign of extermination, but the Panthay leader, Tu, kept open his communications through Burmah for the supply of arms and ammunition, gained widespread acknowledgment as the Sultan Suleiman, and even sent his adopted son Hassan to obtain aid from England. Next year the Chinese forces, set free by the ending of the T'aiping rebellion, besieged Talifu, and the city was reduced to the direst extremities. Tu endeavored to purchase safety for the people of the city by the surrender of himself, but it was his lifeless body which the Chinese general received, as Tu poisoned himself whilst being borne in his sedan chair to the appointment. His head was preserved in honey and sent to the Emperor, whilst, in defiance of the promise given, thirty thousand men, women and children perished in one indiscriminate butchery. Sultan Suleiman's death took place on Jan. 15, 1873.

Trouble in Central Asia. Quite independently, apparently of the Panthay rebellion in Yunnan, there broke out an insurrection in the provinces of Shensi and Kansuh, which spread into Central Asia and inflamed the ever-restless ambition of the tribes of Kashgaria. A plot against the lives of two Commissioners sent to investigate was avenged by the order given for a general massacre of all followers of Islam. In some cities this was averted by the Muhamadans turning the tables on their assailants and in Khokand a surviving son of Jehangir raised the standard of rebellion, aided by a much more efficient soldier than himself, the famous Yakoob Khan. In a little while Yakoob threw off his pretense of subordination and was acknowledged by the Amir of Bokhara as Athalik Ghazi. The disturbances spreading to Ili brought the Russians upon the scene, who gave formal notice to China of their intention to occupy the country till the rebellion was subdued. Meanwhile the Imperial Government was moving, if slowly, and General *Tso Tsung-t'ang* with remarkable skill set about a patient and persistent reconquest of the country. His army is sometimes known as the "agricultural army" on account of the plan adopted of supplying themselves with the necessary food by lengthy sojourns at the successive oases where crops could be produced. In this way they advanced slowly but surely, across the desert, sowing and reaping. Patient tactics of this sort, reinforced by undoubted skill and valor in battle, at last broke the formidable power of Yakoob Khan. The defeated leader fled to Korla, where he died, probably from poison. The rebellious cities of Yarkand and Khotan submitted and peace was restored in 1878.

TROUBLE WITH JAPAN. In entirely another direction China had found herself within measurable distance of another war which might not have ended so fortunately. The island of Taiwan, or Formosa, had always been a very troublesome appanage to China, and the Government seldom concerned itself with the district as long as there was no open rebellion. In 1868, however Japan had occasion to protest against the massacre of over fifty sailors from the Riukiu Islands. The Imperial Government maintained at first that the murdered islanders were China's own subjects, but the Japanese pushed matters to the extent of landing a punitive force, and the Chinese ultimately consented, through the good offices of Sir Thomas Wade, to pay the expenses of the expedition, while the claim of the Japanese to the Riukiu Islands was tacitly acknowledged.

THE MARRIAGE OF T'UNG CHIH. By 1872 the young Emperor had reached the age of sixteen, and it was determined to provide him with a consort. The Empress Dowager chose for this high honor the lady *Ahluta*, daughter of a distinguished *literatus*, and the wedding was celebrated with great ceremony on Oct. 16, 1872. As the marriage of an Emperor was always assumed to mark his coming of age, the Empresses took the opportunity to surrender into the hands of T'ung Chih the responsibilities of government on Feb. 23, 1873.

AUDIENCE GIVEN TO FOREIGN MINISTERS. Following upon the marriage of the Emperor an event took place of the greatest possible significance. On June 15, 1873, the following Edict appeared: "The Tsung-li Yamên having presented a memorial to the effect that the Foreign Ministers residing in Peking have implored us to grant an audience that they may deliver letters from their Governments, we command that the Foreign Ministers residing in Peking, who have brought letters from their Governments, be accorded audience. Respect this." The audience was given in the "Pavilion of the Purple Light," where it had been usual to receive the tribute-bearing envoys from the barbarians. Six ministers attended, representing Japan, England, the United States, France, Russia and Holland. This was on the 29th of June, 1873. The representatives of the powers were not received in the precincts of the palace proper until 1894.

Death of T'ung Chih. The Empresses had not long to regret their freedom from the cares of state. At the beginning of January, 1875, the youthful Emperor was reported as "happily" suffering from smallpox and on the 12th of the month he passed over to the ancestors. Whether his death was superinduced by poison will never be known. Suspicion is aroused by the fact that the young Empress Ahluta, together with her unborn babe, died two months afterwards. The two Dowagers at once proclaimed the four-year-old child of Prince Ch'un, the seventh son of Hsien Fêng. Thus the succession passed for the first time out of the direct line of the Manchu dynasty.

NOTES

1. "Letters from China," p. 377. See also "Court Life in China," by Dr. Isaac T. Headland; "China's New Day," by the same author.

2. An account of the life and mission of Anson Burlinghame has just been published by Mr. Frederick Wells Williams.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE REIGN OF KWANG HSÜ

A. D. 1875–1898.

Accession of Kwang Hsü — the Margary affair — China's first railway — the restoration of Kuldja — trouble over Korea — war with France — marriage of the Emperor — anti-Christian riots — war with Japan — the treaty of Shimonoseki — European aggressions — the Reform movement — Chang Chih-tung — Kang Yu-wei — the Reform Edicts of Kwang Hsü — the Empress' coup d'état.

Accession of Kwang Hsü. The child Tsai t'ien had been posthumously adopted as the son of T'ung Chih and was now placed upon the throne under the name of *Kwang Hsü*, "Illustrious Succession." The placing of another child upon the Dragon Throne enabled the masterful Dowager, mother of the late Emperor, to exercise an almost undisputed power for the greater part of the new reign. Those who gained access to the Emperor from the outer world have reported favorably of his intellectual capacity and character, and there can be little doubt as to his genuine desire for reform. But probably he combined with his good intentions some lack of judgment and a by no means unexplainable inexperience of affairs. It is in any case evident that his personality had in it nothing which could make headway against the masterfulness of his aunt, who certainly in these years deserved the description so often applied to her, of "the only man in China."

The Margary Affair. Partly arising out of the Muhamadan rebellion in Yunnan, which had maintained communications with Burmah for the sake of getting weapons and supplies, and following the signing of the treaty of 1862 between Great Britain and Burmah, the desire had been growing in India for new trade connections with China through the south-western provinces. Hence a mission had been arranged for and passports issued by the Government at Peking to a party under Col. Browne. To this party Mr. Augustus Margary, a member of the Chinese consular service, had been attached. He set out to meet the rest of the expedition at Bhamo and accomplished his mission in safety. Then on the return journey he was attacked by Chinese troops at the small town of Manwyne and treacherously murdered. This happened in February, 1875. Col. Browne with great difficulty, and largely through the bravery of the Sikh troops who accompanied him, made his way back to Bhamo. The outrage led to prolonged investigations and negotiations, carried on mainly by Sir Thomas Wade and Li Hung-chang. These resulted finally in the *Chifu Convention* of Sept. 13, 1876. By this Convention China agreed to send a mission of apology to England, to proclaim throughout the Empire the right of foreigners to travel, and to pay an indemnity of 200,000 taels. Several ports of call on the Yangtse river were also opened for trade and one further result was the establishment of a permanent representative of China at the English Court.

China's First Railway. Perhaps we should say, "the first steam railway," for, according to the Vicomte D'Ollone, "the Chinese invented the railway," and he describes how, on the borders of Tibet, "in the flagstones which form the pavement two little channels are cut, which all wheelbarrows follow, coming or going."[1] It was more difficult to recommend to China the railway of the Westerner and the "iron horse," but this is how the first experiment came about. In the first years of Kwang Hsü terrible famines had visited China. It is estimated that nine million people perished in the four provinces of Chihli, Shansi, Honan and Kansuh alone. A very active part in the relief measures was taken by *Li Hung-chang*, who for the first time was led to experience the inefficiency of Chinese methods of transportation. Under these circumstances a company of foreign merchants undertook to construct a railway from Shanghai to *Wusung*, a distance of twelve miles. The innovation aroused all the prejudices of Chinese conservatism. The populace feared for the graves of the ancestors, the boatmen were troubled about the imminent competition, the believers in *fêng shui*[2] trembled lest the luck of the land should be disturbed, and most men disliked the probable extension of foreign influence. Hence, no sooner was the line in operation, than the Chinese determined to make it permanently inoperative. They walked deliberately in front of the engine, to transform themselves from hostile but comparatively ineffective human beings into even more hostile and terribly potent spirits. The excitement increased to such an extent that the Government was constrained to buy up the line, tear up the rails and dump the engines into the river. The rails were, eventually, we believe, exported to Formosa, but no more attempts were made to build railways in China till 1881, when *Wu Ting-fang* had influence enough to secure the construction of the line to the capital.

THE RESTORATION OF KULDJA. We have already followed to its close the suppression of Yakoob Khan's rebellion in Kashgaria, but it will be remembered that Russia had taken advantage of the uncertain situation in order to occupy Kuldja. After the fall of Kashgar, Dec. 17, 1877, demands were made on Russia for the return of the occupied territory. To effect this, Ch'ung-hou, whom we have already encountered as heading the mission of apology to France after the Tientsin massacre, was sent to St. Petersburg. The wily Muscovite so far overreached the Chinese diplomat that the latter returned with the *Treaty of Livadia*, by means of which the return of Kuldja was promised on the payment of five million rubles. This to China seemed like paying too high a price for the return of her own property, and a storm of indignation broke upon the head of the ambassador. Prince Ch'un, the Emperor's father, clamored for war, and the future Viceroy *Chang Chih-tung* appears upon the scene clamorous for Ch'ung-hou's head. The unfortunate diplomat was sentenced to decapitation, a sentence which would undoubtedly have been carried out but for a personal letter from Queen Victoria. The respited official retired into private life and died, less summarily, of creeping paralysis in 1893. A new instrument for diplomacy appeared in the famous *Marquis Tsêng*, son of the General Tsêng Kuo-fan, who had rendered noteworthy service against the T'aipings. Tsêng, who had taught himself English with the help of Murray's Grammar and a Nuttall's Dictionary, had become Minister to Great Britain, and he was now sent to St. Petersburg to obtain something more satisfactory than the Treaty of Livadia. He succeeded admirably and the new treaty was ratified Aug. 19, 1881. We may add here that the Marquis Tsêng subsequently, in 1885, arranged the Opium Convention with Great Britain, was a member of the Tsung-li Yamên, served on the Admiralty Board and the Board of Revenue and died, full of honors, in 1890. Among other faculties possessed by him in addition to those of the diplomat, we may mention his calligraphy. Even the Emperor was glad to obtain specimens of his skill in this department of art and literature combined.

TROUBLE OVER KOREA. Affairs had not been straightened out in Kashgaria before they began to assume a gloomy complexion in Korea. The peninsula had been long regarded as a tributary nation but, as in Formosa, little trouble was taken with the government so long as Korea did not embroil China with other powers. Unfortunately this was just what happened not infrequently. The persecution of Christianity in Korea involved the murder of some French missionaries in 1866; an American ship was burned and its crew murdered; and Japan had commercial grievances of long standing. As China seemed very anxious to disclaim responsibility the

Japanese cleverly took advantage of the situation and concluded a treaty directly with Korea in which the independence of the principality was assumed. China, thus outwitted, endeavored to regain lost ground by means of intrigue and factions arose leading to so unsatisfactory a condition that the two countries were brought more than once to the very verge of war. Ultimately, following upon several tragic episodes, a *modus vivendi* was found by Li Hung-chang and Count Ito, by which the troops of the nations were withdrawn. This agreement kept the peace until 1894. It was further agreed that, in case either nation felt it necessary to send troops into Korea, due notice of the intention should be given.[3]

War with France. Some territory had been obtained from China by France as far back as 1787. In 1858 a further advance had been made by the taking of Saigon and the consequent extension of French influence through Cochin China and Cambodia. For this treaty recognition was obtained in 1862. After the Franco-German war France began to seek a restoration of prestige in her Colonial Empire. A treaty was made with Annam in 1874 without consultation with the suzerain power, by which the Red River and its ports, Haiphong and Hanoi, were opened for trade. Since this territory was used for the opening up of trade routes into Yunnan the French soon found themselves in difficulties with the guerilla troops known as Black Flags (largely made up of fugitives from the insurrectionary wars in Yunnan), with the secret support, it was believed, of the Chinese Government behind them. No war was declared on either side, but the French, in carrying on her "reprisals," soon came face to face with the regular Chinese troops and warlike operations continued during 1883 and 1884. A convention drawn up at Tientsin by *Li Hung-chang* and Captain Fournier would have put an end to the conflict, but for the impatience of the French in taking possession of the awarded territory before the Chinese general had received orders from his superior. The consequence was a conflict in which the French were worsted and the "reprisals" continued, without any declaration of war. Among the incidents were the unjustifiable attack by Admiral Courbet upon the forts and ships at Fuchow and the bombardment of Kelung. It was to the relief of all parties, the French included, that, through the good offices of Sir Robert Hart, a treaty was at last signed in June, 1885, by which much the same terms were accepted as had been agreed upon by *Li Hung-chang* a year earlier. Tongking now became French, but China came out of the struggle, from a military point of view, not discreditably. It was at this time that *Li Hung-chang's* plans for a new navy began to take shape under Admiral Lang and that a new Navy Department was created under Prince Chun, the Emperor's father. The exigencies of the war with France also led to the extension of telegraph lines which, strangely enough, did not arouse the superstitious prejudice of the people as has been the case with the railways.

MARRIAGE OF THE EMPEROR. In March, 1889, the marriage of the young Emperor took place with unusual splendor. The lady honored by the Imperial choice (*i. e.* not of Kwang Hsü, but of the Empress dowager) was Yehonala, a niece of Tsi Thsi. The festivities were on an extraordinary scale, and a large number of honors were distributed to signalize the occasion. The event marked also the assumption of sovereignty by the Emperor and the end of Tsi Thsi's second regency. An Edict issued at the time announces: "The Emperor is now advancing to manhood, and the greatest respect which he can pay to us will be to discipline his own body, to develop his mind, to pay unremitting attention to the administration of the Government, and to love his people." Two years later Kwang Hsü gave his first audience to the foreign ministers, held, as the audience of the reign of T'ung Chih had been, in the Hall of the Tribute-bearers. It was given out as the Emperor's intention to hold these audiences annually in the first month.

ANTI-CHRISTIAN RIOTS. The year 1891 was rendered notorious for the anti-foreign and anti-Christian riots in Hunan and the Yangtse Kiang valley. The vilest calumnies had been spread broadcast against the Christians, notably by one Chow Han, a scholar of sufficient culture to know better. Puns on such words as *Tien Chu* (Lord of Heaven) and *Yang jên* (foreign men) enabled the caricaturists to depict the God of the Christians as the "Heavenly Pig" and the white men as the "Goat men." The *Tsung-li* Yamên was powerless to check the riots and the payment of money indemnities but poorly atoned for the cruel murder of missionaries and their converts. One good result, however, was the issuance of an Imperial Edict to this effect: "The propagation of Christianity by foreigners is provided for by treaty, and Imperial decrees have been issued to the provincial authorities to protect the missionaries from time to time. . . . The doctrine of Christianity has for its purpose the teaching of men to be good."

War with Japan. Some years before, Li Hungchang had written the words: "It is above all things necessary to strengthen our country's defenses, to organize a powerful navy, and not to undertake aggressive steps against Japan in too great a hurry." Unfortunately for China the recommendations of the great statesman were only half followed. The division of the fleet into Northern and Southern without mutual responsibility proved to be disastrous and in 1894 all the prestige gained by China in the contest with France was dissipated like a morning mist. Into the causes of this memorable war it is impossible here to go in detail. They have been summarized somewhat as follows: 1. The rankling sense of injustice created in 1884; 2. The assassination of the Korean statesman, Kim Ok-kuin, who had been decoyed from Japan by Korean emissaries and murdered in Shanghai; 3. The feeling that, as Japan had opened Korea to the world, her influence should be something more than nominal; 4. The unrest in Japan, which made foreign war an easy way out of a difficult domestic situation. The actual determining cause for the unsheathing of the sword was the sending of Chinese troops into Korea without prompt notice given to Japan.

The Campaign. Hostilities actually began with the sinking of the English steamer *Kowshing*, which was being used as a transport for the Chinese troops, on July 25, 1894. War was declared August 1 and troops were hurried to the Yalu. The battle of Pingyang was fought September 15, six thousand Chinese being slain and the remainder fleeing northward in a most demoralized condition. It was in this battle that the Chinese general, who had ascended a hill to direct the fight with his fan, learned, and the Chinese government through him, that the old order in the Orient was doomed. Two days later the naval battle of the Yalu was fought on somewhat more equal terms. The Chinese made a good fight, but lost four ships. The actual invasion of China commenced October 24, with the Japanese forces under Count Oyama. The advance was marked by great military skill and the desire to gain, so far as possible, the good will of the populace by whom they passed. The famous fortress of Port Arthur was stormed on November 21, with a loss of only four hundred men, a victory which was marred by a cruel massacre such as sadly tarnished the luster of the Japanese arms. In the advance into Manchuria the Japanese forces had been equally successful, and it was becoming plain that it might be well to consider terms of peace. Mr. Detring was sent to Japan on November 27 to open up negotiations, but he had no proper credentials and was not received. Before a second attempt could be made the capture of *Haicheng* and *Kaiping* made the Japanese masters of the whole of the *Liaotung* peninsula. Two Chinese emissaries had meanwhile been sent to treat for peace, but they too were insufficiently accredited. The great battle of Weihaiwei followed in February, 1895, and by land and by sea the Japanese forces were completely victorious. The one Chinese hero of the war, Admiral Ting, after hoisting his flag of surrender, committed suicide in his cabin. The Southern fleet, which all the while was anchored in the Yangtse Kiang, according to the theory that the war concerned the North exclusively, might have turned the scale of the war had it chosen to intervene. The capture of Yinkow in Manchuria now brought the hitherto despised " dwarf men " so near the gates of Peking that a serious effort for peace had become imperative.

THE TREATY OF SHIMONOSEKI. The emissary this time was no other than Li Hung-chang himself. He left for Japan on March 15 and soon after arrival was shot at by an over-zealous Japanese patriot. The shot, which fortunately was not fatal, cost Japan a good deal, since it led to the granting of an armistice of some weeks (except in the case of the campaign in Formosa), and undoubtedly helped to secure for China more favorable terms than she could otherwise have expected. A treaty was drawn up and signed at Shimonoseki on April 17. It was ratified at Chifu on May 8 and provided for the independence of Korea, the cession of the Liaotung peninsula, Formosa and the Pescadores, the payment of two hundred million taels indemnity, and the opening of certain ports in Hupeh, Szechwan, Kiangsu and Chehkiang. Afterwards, on pretense of maintaining the integrity of China, the three powers of Russia, Germany and France stepped in to rob Japan of the fruits of her victory, so far as the Continental acquisitions were concerned. The Liaotung peninsula was given up and a further indemnity of thirty million taels accepted instead. So came to its close a campaign in which China's reputation for military and naval strength collapsed like a pricked balloon.

EUROPEAN AGGRESSION. The sixtieth birthday of the Empress Dowager, which under ordinary circumstances would have been celebrated with lavish splendor, and for which great preparations had been made, came at a dark hour in Chinese history, but we may regard as an omen of good for the future that among the presents received was a New Testament in a silver casket, which was presented by the English and American ambassadors and graciously received. For the present, however, the Empress had but little reason for looking kindly upon the ways of the foreigners. The collapse of China before the new might of Japan had aroused the greed of the nations who regarded "the slicing of the melon" as an inevitable operation in which he who came earliest was likely to get most. Hence the conclusion of peace with Japan inaugurated a period of aggression which led in time to dire results. Russia having posed as China's friend in the saving of the Liaotung peninsula and in the provision by loan of the means for paying the indemnity, felt entitled to repay herself, by means of the so-called Cassini Convention, in the leasing of Port Arthur, March, 1898. Germany had already taken her reward in the seizure of the Bay of Kiaochao in Shantung, November, 1897. The reason given was the murder of two German missionaries who had been slain as a matter of fact to get the local magistrate into trouble. Great Britain countered the Russian move by obtaining a lease of Weihaiwei [4] on April 2, 1898, and France, on May 2, obtained Kwangchouwan. "By 1899," writes Mr. A. J. Brown,[5] "in all China's three thousand miles of coast line, there was not a harbor in which she could mobilize her own ships without the consent of the hated foreigner." Yet Italy had the assurance to demand the Bay of Sammên in Chehkiang and might have obtained it had not the power by this time passed once more into the vigorous hands of the great Empress Dowager.

THE REFORM MOVEMENT. The agitations in the Empire had hitherto been largely in the hands of the secret societies and had had for their object little beyond the vague program, "Destroy the Ch'ing; restore the Ming." From this time onwards a new spirit was abroad in the land. It was the result of many coöperating causes. The success of Japan had been clearly due to the fact that the Island Empire had adopted Occidental methods. The infiltration of Western learning, through the labors of missionaries and others, was beginning to tell. Most effective of all, there were personalities at work with a very definite end in view.

CHANG CHIH-TUNG. One of the most influential of these was the great viceroy of Hupeh, Chang Chih-tung, whose book, shown by its English title, "China's Only Hope,"[6] is said by a competent authority to have "made more history in a shorter time than any other modern piece of literature." Advertised throughout China on yellow posters, introduced with a rescript from the Emperor himself, it "astonished a kingdom, convulsed an empire and brought on a war." It was by no means the work of a radical. Chang Chih-tung was no advocate of Parliaments. "There were too many fools," he said naïvely. Nor was he too favorable to the introduction of foreign instructors. They seemed to him too lazy, and inclined to dribble out their knowledge to students in order to make their engagement last longer. But he was in some respects thoroughgoing. With regard to opium he said: "Cast out the poison." With regard to education: "Abolish the eight-legged essay," whilst he recommended that the temples of the two religions in which he did not believe should be turned into schools. Above all he urged loyalty to the throne, to the race and to Confucianism. The book won authority from the man himself. Born in 1835, scholar, governor, viceroy, founder of universities and iron works, promoter of coal mining and cotton spinning, a brilliant statesman and an ardent patriot, Chang Chih-tung certainly deserved well of his countrymen. He died in 1910 respected by foreigners for his straightforward honesty and having accomplished a great deal towards guiding the feet of young China into the path of safe and sane reform.[7]

Kang Yu-wei. A character harder to estimate aright is that of "China's modern sage," Kang Yu-wei,[8] a Cantonese, whose studies on the restoration in Japan, the decadence of Turkey, the constitutional changes in England, and the life of Peter the Great, penetrated in 1897 into the royal palace. Kang Yu-wei's friends have declared he was by no means so precipitate as the Emperor's later actions would imply and his friendship with Chang Chih-tung would argue for a certain measure of conservatism. His influence, however, is unmistakable. As Secretary of the Tsung-li Yamên and as publisher of a periodical entitled *News for the Times* he had ample opportunity to reach and influence others. Almost before the argus-eyed Dowager was aware of what was going on in the palace precincts the Emperor was surrounded by persons and influences recommended by *Kang Yu-wei.* For three months " the modern Confucius " reigned supreme in the Emperor's counsels; then came the deluge.

Kwang Hsü's Reforms. The result of such influences as have been described, aided by the natural intelligence of the Emperor and his interest in western toys and scientific experiments, was soon apparent in his acts. " We do not lack," he said, " either men of intellect or brilliant talents, capable of learning and doing anything they please; but their movements have hitherto been hampered by old prejudices." Kwang Hsü was at least resolved that this should no longer be true of himself. In the early part of 1898 he is said to have bought a hundred and twenty-nine foreign books, a Bible, maps, globes and charts. Moreover, he was determined to make things move outside the palace and there is something pathetic in the eagerness with which he launched, one after another, those twenty-seven ill-fated Edicts of July, 1898. They provided, with bewildering haste, and with little or no attention to the means for carrying them into execution, for every reform which his somewhat visionary instructors had suggested to his enthusiasm. There was to be a new university at Peking, universal reform in education, extension of railways, developments of art, science and agriculture, together with the immediate abolition of all that had hitherto retarded the advance of the Empire. It was a beautiful dream, but the dreamer was destined to a very sudden and rude awakening.

THE EMPRESS' COUP D'ÉTAT. The Empress Dowager was, as we have seen, no novice at a *coup d'état.* It had become manifestly a case for instant action if she were to save herself and her friends from the consequences of the new movement. We may also give her credit for the sincere belief that the new craze for western materialism was likely to play into the hands of the greedy European powers ever on the alert for the partitioning of China. It is no reflection on her patriotism that she believed drastic measures were necessary for the Empire's salvation. *Yüan Shih-kai* has been blamed by some for warning the Empress of what was taking place in the Royal Palace. He too may be credited with the belief that hot-headed, inexperienced young enthusiasts were not the real leaders the time necessitated. So the blow fell; Kang Yu-wei escaped with difficulty to live henceforth with a price upon his head. Most of his associates were ruthlessly beheaded; the poor young Emperor was from this time forth practically deposed and a prisoner; and a new era was inaugurated by an Edict which commences as follows:

"Her Imperial Majesty the Empress Dowager, Tsi Thsi, since the first years of the reign of the late Emperor T'ung Chih down to our present reign, has twice ably filled the regency of the Empire, and never did her Majesty fail in happily bringing to a successful issue even the most difficult problems of government. In all things we have ever placed the interests of our Empire before those of others and looking back at her Majesty's successful handiwork, we are now led to beseech, for a third time, for the assistance from her Imperial Majesty, so that we may benefit from her wise and kindly advice in all matters of State. Having now obtained her Majesty's gracious consent, we truly consider this to be a great boon both to ourselves as well as to the people of our Empire."[9]

NOTES

1. "In Forbidden China," by the Vicomte D'Ollone, p. 202.

2. Literally "Wind-water" (superstition); the geomantic philosophy of China.

3. See the "Story of Korea" by Joseph H. Longford, 1911; also the works of Ross, Mackenzie and Gale.

4. For an exhaustive account of Weihaiwei, read R. F. Johnston's "Lion and Dragon in Northern China."

5. "New Forces in Old China."

6. The Chinese title is "Chüan Hsüeh Pien" which in the French translation is "Exhortation à l'Étude" or "Exhortation to Reform." "China's only Hope," is the title in Dr. S. I. Woodbridge's translation.

7. For a good account of Chang Chih-tung see Dr. W. E. Geil's "Eighteen Capitals of China," p. 256 ff.

8. An appreciation of Kang Yu-wei as a philosopher appears in the *Hibbert Journal,* 1908.

9. The story of these days is well given by Dr. Headland in "Court Life in China," and in Dr. Brown's "New Forces in Old China."

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE EMPRESS DOWAGER'S THIRD REGENCY

A. D. 1898–1908.

The Edicts of September — the Empress and the Boxers — massacre of the missionaries — the Siege of the Legation — the relief of Peking — defense of the French Cathedral — the looting of Peking — the Peace negotiations — massacre at Blagovestchensk — events in Manchuria — Li Hung-chang — foreign affairs — results of the Russo-Japanese war — the awakening of China — reforms of Tsi Thsi — deaths of Emperor and Empress Dowager.

The Edicts of September. The *coup d'état* of the Empress was successfully carried out September 22, 1898. Troops had been silently collected; the Emperor was seized and consigned to the seclusion he had doubtless intended for his aunt. Two days later the Edicts of July were all annulled. At one fell swoop the cardhouse of reform was shattered and its authors seized or scattered. The Empress astutely managed to explain and consolidate her assumption of power by holding a reception for the wives of the Ambassadors who had no alternative but to accept the situation. A year later when it was announced that the Emperor had abdicated in favor of Pu Chü, the son of Prince Tuan, the Chinese and foreign ministers were indeed genuinely concerned and put sufficient pressure on Tsi Thsi to cancel the Edict of abdication. The British ambassador, moreover, hinted that the health of the incarcerated Emperor must be carefully considered or there might be consequences. So, although Kwang Hsü remained in prison, there was no further talk of abdication.

The Empress and the Boxers. The activity of the Dowager was not solely in the interest of her retention of power. She was seriously alarmed at the aggressions of the foreigners and had a definite policy looking towards their expulsion. In the energetic words of one of her edicts: "The various Powers cast upon us looks of tiger-like voracity, hustling each other in their endeavors to be first to seize upon our innermost territories. They think that China, having neither money nor troops, would never venture to go to war with them. They fail to understand, however, that there are certain things which this Empire can never consent to, and that, if hard pressed, we have no alternative but to rely upon the justice of our cause, the knowledge of which in our breasts strengthens our resolves and steels us to present an united front against our aggressors." A weapon was unhappily ready to hand. Among the anti-Manchu societies which were flourishing at the time was that known as the *I Ho Chuan*, or Righteous Harmony Fist's Association, popularly known as the Boxers. The Empress adroitly led them to reconsider their anti-dynastic prejudices and to enlist themselves in her anti-foreign campaign. This they did with a fanatical enthusiasm which boded ill. The Boxers were not only madly hostile to the foreigner but were profoundly convinced of their own invulnerability to the arms of the alien, and their numbers, swollen by all the elements which made for mischief, grew daily more formidable. An alliance of anti-reformers seemed to Tsi Thsi to ensure doubly the success of her plans.

MASSACRE OF THE MISSIONARIES. The first fury of the Boxers fell upon the missionaries,[1] who were for the most part in the remoter districts of the inflamed provinces and who were, for various reasons, specially obnoxious to the mob. Mr. Brooks, a missionary of the Church of England in Shantung, was murdered late in 1899, and, after four months of unrest and futile negotiation, the massacres were resumed on an unprecedented scale. Messrs. Norman and Robinson, English missionaries, were murdered in June, 1900, the mission stations of Paotingfu were burned and their inmates slaughtered. Dr. A. H. Smith sums up the casualties, so far as they apply to the foreign missionaries, as follows: "The devastating Boxer cyclone cost the lives of a hundred and thirty-five adult Protestant missionaries and fifty-three children and of thirty-five Roman Catholic fathers and nine Sisters. The Protestants were in connection with ten different missions, one being unconnected. They were murdered in four provinces and in Mongolia, and belonged to Great Britain, the United States, and Sweden." We must add to these figures several thousand native converts who met their fate with unflinching heroism. But for the strong stand taken by some of the Viceroys, notably by Chang Chih-tung, Yüan Shih-kai, Liu K'un-i, Tuan Fang and Li Hung-chang, the bloodshed would doubtless have been a thousandfold worse. Happily there were men in China at this crisis who were prepared to take the consequences of disobeying the Dowager.

THE SIEGE OF THE LEGATIONS.[2] The advance of the Boxers upon Peking soon cut off the communications of the foreign ministers with the outside world. But for the timely arrival of some four hundred and fifty marines from the warships it would scarcely have been possible to defend the Legations against the attacks which in a few days commenced. The foreign powers were beginning to realize the critical nature of the situation and poured troops into Tientsin, but the force of two thousand men sent to relieve their fellow-countrymen in Peking proved insufficient and was forced to retire with heavy loss. Consequently the legations were " straitly shut up " within the walls of the British Embassy and disaster on a large scale seemed imminent. The chancellor of the Japanese legation, Mr. Sugiyama, was murdered on June 11 and Baron von Ketteler, the German minister, on June 20. The attack, which at times was made with the greatest possible fury, at other times appeared to be half-hearted, and it was apparent that there were divided counsels in the Chinese Court. Later investigation brought out the fact that the reactionary leader, Prince Tuan, was the most inveterate enemy of the besieged, whilst it was to Prince Jung Lu that they owed their eventual escape. When the longed-for and long-expected relief came ammunition and food were well-nigh exhausted and out of the defending force of less than five hundred, sixty-five had been killed and a hundred and thirty-one wounded. Moreover, the anxiety and suffering of those within were matched by the suspense of the whole civilized world outside, ignorant and apprehensive of the fate of the besieged.

RELIEF OF THE LEGATIONS. Meanwhile a strong relief force was gathering, and on August 4 an army of twenty thousand men, Japanese, American, French, Russian, German and British, was able to start for Peking. Opposition was met at various points, but in ten days the force was within striking distance, and on August 14 General Gaselee and a party of Sikhs were the first to fight their way to the beleaguered garrison. Mrs. Conger writes: "Rejoice! All nations rejoice and give thanks. Our coming troops are outside the city wall." Simultaneously with the entry of the Allies, the Empress Dowager, the Emperor and a few attendants left hurriedly for the old capital of China, Singanfu.[3]

DEFENSE OF THE FRENCH CATHEDRAL. One of the most heroic episodes of the siege was the defense of the French Cathedral by Bishop Favier. He had with him eighty Europeans and three thousand four hundred native Christians, of whom two thousand seven hundred were women and children. Four hundred died during the siege, mostly buried under the ruins caused by exploding mines. Few things in the history of this terrible time are more touching than the story told by a Portuguese Sister to Mrs. Little of how the Sisters used to make the children under their care follow them in a long train to this side or that side, wherever the fire seemed the slackest, until at last one day a large number were blown up by a mine and killed.

THE LOOTING OF PEKING. An unhappy incident of the relief of the Legations was the wanton and savage destruction with which the foreign troops avenged the savagery of their foes. It is useless now to bandy reproaches among the various nationalities concerned, but it may be said that order was first restored among the Japanese, then among Americans and British. Many Chinese, perfectly innocent of complicity with Boxerdom, had occasion to rue the entrance of the foreign forces into Peking and the object lesson which it was designed to give was to a large extent spoiled. Captain Brinkley writes: "It sends a thrill of horror through every white man's bosom to learn that forty missionary women and twenty-five little children were butchered by the Boxers. But in Tungchow alone, a city where the Chinese made no resistance and where there was no fighting, five hundred and seventy-three Chinese women of the upper classes committed suicide rather than survive the indignities they had suffered." After this the looting of the treasures of *Yamêns* and private houses and the carrying off by the Germans of the beautiful astronomical instruments given by Louis XIV to K'ang Hsi seem insignificant. Our civilization of which we boast so much is still something of a veneer.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS. Field Marshal General von Waldersee arrived with a German force in September, 1900, and, taking supreme command, at once started upon the complicated task of obtaining reparation for the mischief wrought. The Concert of Powers was as usual somewhat difficult to keep in tune and Russia's withdrawal for her own ends, while maintaining her claim for a very heavy indemnity, was annoying and mischievous. Ultimately the punishments were agreed upon. Certain guilty officials, eleven in number, were to receive the reward of their misdeeds, the importation of arms was forbidden for a term of years, the customary examinations were to be suspended for five years, and an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels, divided among the powers, was ordered paid. Of this last a number of the missions concerned refused to accept their share, feeling that the blood spilled was not to be valued in coin, and the United States generously arranged for its share to go to the education of the youth of China. There was further exacted a mission of apology to Germany and Japan, and memorials of the murdered Chancellor and Ambassador were to be erected in Peking, where they are currently said to be regarded as monuments in honor of the assassins.

THE MASSACRE OF BLAGOVESTCHENSK. It has already been noted that Russia had detached herself from the powers to pursue her own policy, and this involved the occupation of Manchuria, avowedly because of the disturbed condition of the country. It was the beginning of a movement not finally checked until the Japanese undertook to check it with the sword. A foul blot upon the first stage of the occupation was the terrible massacre of Chinese at Blagovestchensk on the Amur, in reprisal for an attack made by the Chinese on some Cossack troops. Thousands of men, women and children were ruthlessly driven at the bayonet point into the river. It was a crime which fitly deserved the Nemesis which was so soon to overtake the great northern power.

SUBSEQUENT EVENTS. Russia's hold on Manchuria was being tightened through the support of Li Hung-chang, while Liu K'un-i and Chang Chih-tung, supported by Great Britain and Japan, made so vigorous a protest that the Convention proposed by Russia was withdrawn. On September 7, 1901, the Peace Protocol was finally signed and in the same month the foreign troops, with the exception of the legation guards, were withdrawn from Peking. In October the Imperial Court returned from Singanfu, and on November 7 the illustrious statesman, Li Hung-chang, died.

LI HUNG-CHANG. This distinguished man was born in 1822 in the province of Anhwui, graduated *chin shih* in 1847, and entered the Hanlin college. He came into public notice in 1853 by raising a body of militia to operate against the T'aipings, was appointed for his services Governor of Kiangsu in 1862 and at the conclusion of the rebellion in 1864 was raised to the dignity of an Earl. In 1867 he became Viceroy of Hukwang, and in 1870, after the Tientsin massacre, Governor of the metropolitan province of Chihli. During the last days of T'ung Chih's illness Li coöperated with the Empresses Dowager for the elevation of Kwang Hsü to the throne. He made with his men a forced march of eighty miles in thirty-six hours and arrived at Peking in time to get command of the situation. "Every man," says Dr. Giles, "held a wooden bit in his mouth to prevent talking, and the metal trappings of the horses were muffled." In 1876 Li Hung-chang became, as we have seen, the special Commissioner to settle the Margary affair, and in this capacity drew up the Chifu treaty. After taking a leading part in the negotiations with

France in 1884, some uneventful years passed, and in 1892 he celebrated his seventieth birthday. Two years later he was drawn out of his retirement by the war with Japan and, after losing his accumulated honors for permitting defeat, he was sent to recover prestige by negotiating the Treaty of Shimonoseki. In 1896 he went as special Commissioner to attend the Coronation of the Emperor of Russia and has been suspected of throwing his weight unduly into the forwarding of Muscovite ambitions in the Orient. His return through Europe and the United States made him a great popular figure, and he arrived in China again to find himself at the height of his influence, living, as we have seen, just long enough afterwards to render services to the foreign population during the Boxer troubles.

Foreign Affairs. For several years after the conclusion of peace little or no change was apparent in China upon the surface. The Emperor exerted little or no influence and the humbled Dowager was apparently indifferent to the fate of Manchuria, from which Russia showed no signs of budging. In several other directions concern was given to the Chinese Government, notably in Tibet, where, in 1904, Great Britain felt herself obliged to interfere. The city of Lhassa was occupied by General Younghusband in August of that year, but in the end, after the flight of the Dalai Lama to Mongolia and the exaction of certain pledges the country was handed over to the suzerain power. The real question of the day was Manchuria. The protests of Japan, Great Britain and the United States against its continued occupation secured from Russia the promise to evacuate in eighteen months from April, 1902, but as there was manifested no intention of fulfilling the promise, Japan pushed the matter to the ordeal of war, and on Feb. 8, 1904, the conflict which had long been regarded as inevitable commenced.

Results of the Russo-Japanese War. The war between Japan and Russia which was waged during 1904 and 1905 concerns China for two special reasons. First, it was fought for the most part on Chinese soil; secondly, the results affected China vitally. Directly, China was affected through the fact that Japan succeeded to the privileges of Russia in the Liaotung peninsula and in Manchuria. Korea also now came under the direct rule of Japan, though the formal annexation did not take place until 1910. More important still were the indirect results which showed themselves in a new spirit making powerfully for reform and a revived instinct of nationality. Army reform was carried out in several of the provinces, notably by the Viceroys Yüan Shih-kai and Chang Chih-tung.

The Awakening of China.[4] Even the Empress Dowager was influenced by the new spirit. She had become much more conciliatory to foreigners since the dark days of 1900, and now set herself, cautiously and tentatively, to carry out some of the very reforms she had so ruthlessly cut off in 1898. In 1905 an Imperial Commission, headed by Prince Tsai Tse, was appointed to study out a system of representative government with a view to granting Parliamentary control. The Commission in leaving Peking was greeted with a bomb which showed that the old spirit was by no means dead, but on its return edicts were issued promising at some time in the future a National Assembly. A further Edict in 1908 announced that a Parliament would be convoked nine years from that date.

OTHER REFORMS. A renewal of the anti-opium agitation at this time led to definite and far-reaching results. An edict was published September, 1906, ordering all opium-smoking to cease in ten years.[5] The opium dens of Peking were closed on the last day of 1906 and the coöperation of the Government of India was obtained to arrange for the annual decrease of exportation by 10 per cent. for four years, and subsequently, if it was shown that China was really in earnest, and was not taking advantage of the opportunity to increase its own production of the drug. The opium dens of Hongkong were closed in 1908 and everything that has since happened goes to show a sincere desire to bring an iniquitous traffic to an end. Meanwhile, educational reform was advancing steadily and a decree was issued in September, 1905, announcing that from the beginning of 1906 the old method of examination would cease. The old examination halls were in certain places abolished, temples were transformed into schoolhouses, primary schools for girls were established, thousands of students were sent abroad to Japan and elsewhere, and, as illustrating the desire of the authorities to emphasize moral teaching, Confucius was raised to the same rank as Heaven and Earth. "In thanking the throne for the honor conferred on his ancestors, the head of the family urged that at the new college founded at the birthplace of Confucius the teaching should include foreign languages, physical culture, political science and military drill."[6]

DEATH OF THE EMPEROR AND THE EMPRESS DOWAGER. On November 14, 1908, according to the official account, the Emperor, whose health had manifestly suffered from his semi-incarceration, passed away. On the following day the last great representative of the spirit which had won China for the Manchus, the Dowager Empress Tsi Thsi, followed her nephew to the shades of the ancestors. Rumors of a violent ending in either or both cases were not unnaturally rife, and in some instances circumstantial accounts were given of a great Palace tragedy, but the matter may perhaps best be left in obscurity undisturbed by speculation. One may be permitted to admire the high spirit of the dead Empress without condoning her crimes, and one may certainly be permitted to lament the ineffectuality of a character like that of Kwang Hsü, genuinely disposed towards reform, yet condemned to beat helpless wings against the barriers imposed by circumstances, and by personalities stronger than his own. Perhaps his great mistake was an over-rash enthusiasm in 1898. Even on this point he may be permitted to make his own defense:—"I have been accused of being rash and precipitate, and of attempting great political changes without due consideration. This is an entire mistake. I have thought over the condition of my country with great seriousness for several years. Plan after plan has come before my mind, but each one I was afraid to put into action, lest I should make some blunder that would bring sorrow upon my Empire. In the meanwhile China is being dismembered. Shantung has been occupied by the Germans. The Liaotung peninsula practically belongs to the Russians, and Formosa has been given over to the Japanese. Whilst I am waiting and considering, my country is falling into pieces, and now, when I attempt heroic measures I am accused of rashness. Shall I wait till China has slipped from my hands and I am left a crownless King?"

NOTES

1. A sane discussion of the Missionary Problem in China will be found in Chester Holcomb's "The Real Chinese Question."

2. For the Siege of the Legations and Boxer Revolt the following may be commended: "China in Convulsion," A. H. Smith; "Siege Days," A. H. Mateer; "The Siege of Peking," W. A. P. Martin; "China's Book of Martyrs," Luella Miner; "The Outbreak in China," Dr. F. L. Hawks Pott. Also, from the point of view of one who visited Peking immediately after, Pierre Loti's "Les Derniers Jours de Pekin."

3. The flight of the Emperor is described by Mr. Francis Nichols in "In Hidden Shensi."

4. Read "The Awakening of China," by Dr. W. A. P. Martin.

5. For a strong indictment of the Opium traffic and a description of its results, read Samuel Merwin's "Drugging a Nation." Also Report of the Opium Commission, 1912.

6. Encyclopedia Britannica (11th Ed.) vi 211a.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE REVOLUTION

A. D. 1911–1912.

Accession of Hsuan Tung — signs of the times — the anti-dynastic movement — Sun Yat-sen — the revolution — Yüan Shih-kai — peace negotiations — abdication of the Emperor — end of the Manchu dynasty.

Kwang Hsü was followed immediately by the proclamation of the infant nephew of the late Emperor, *Pu Yi*, son of Prince Chun. The child monarch received the title of Hsuan Tung and his father was appointed Regent, while the two great Viceroys, Yüan Shih-kai and Chang Chih-tung, were named as Grand Guardians of the Heir. With another child upon the throne the outlook was at least uncertain, but at this moment few could have predicted the events so soon to rise above the horizon.

Signs of the Times. An event of bad omen shortly after the commencement of the new reign was the dismissal of Yüan Shih-kai, whose rheumatism was urged as an excuse for his compulsory retirement, but who was probably feared on account of his foreign-trained troops. In other respects the tide of reform seemed still flowing. Railway developments were manifest on every hand. The Peking-Kalgan Railway was opened in October, 1909; the same year the line from Shanghai to Nanking was opened for through traffic; and in 1910 the French line was completed from Hanoi to Yunnanfu. Of still greater moment was the constitution of the Provincial Assemblies in 1909 and the creation of a Senate in the following year. Nevertheless, with all these signs of reform initiated by the government, deeper forces were at work, of which apparently the authorities were quite unaware.

THE ANTI-DYNASTIC MOVEMENT. At the beginning of the Revolution which was so soon to come, a revolutionary agent is reported to have said: "Our party does not draw its force from its groups, but from exterior organizations, societies, corporations, associations of every kind. We launch forth our ideas; they fall where they can, always, however, on good soil. With us revolutions are made with the deep-seated forces of the race which, at a given moment, which we are unable to predict, manifest themselves abruptly." This is a truth which has not always been appreciated. Republicanism did not conquer in China by its own means, but by taking advantage of means provided by many different elements. Yet there was one man who at this time and for long before had been working to bring the various groups into harmony and to make possible the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, and the establishment of a Chinese Republic.

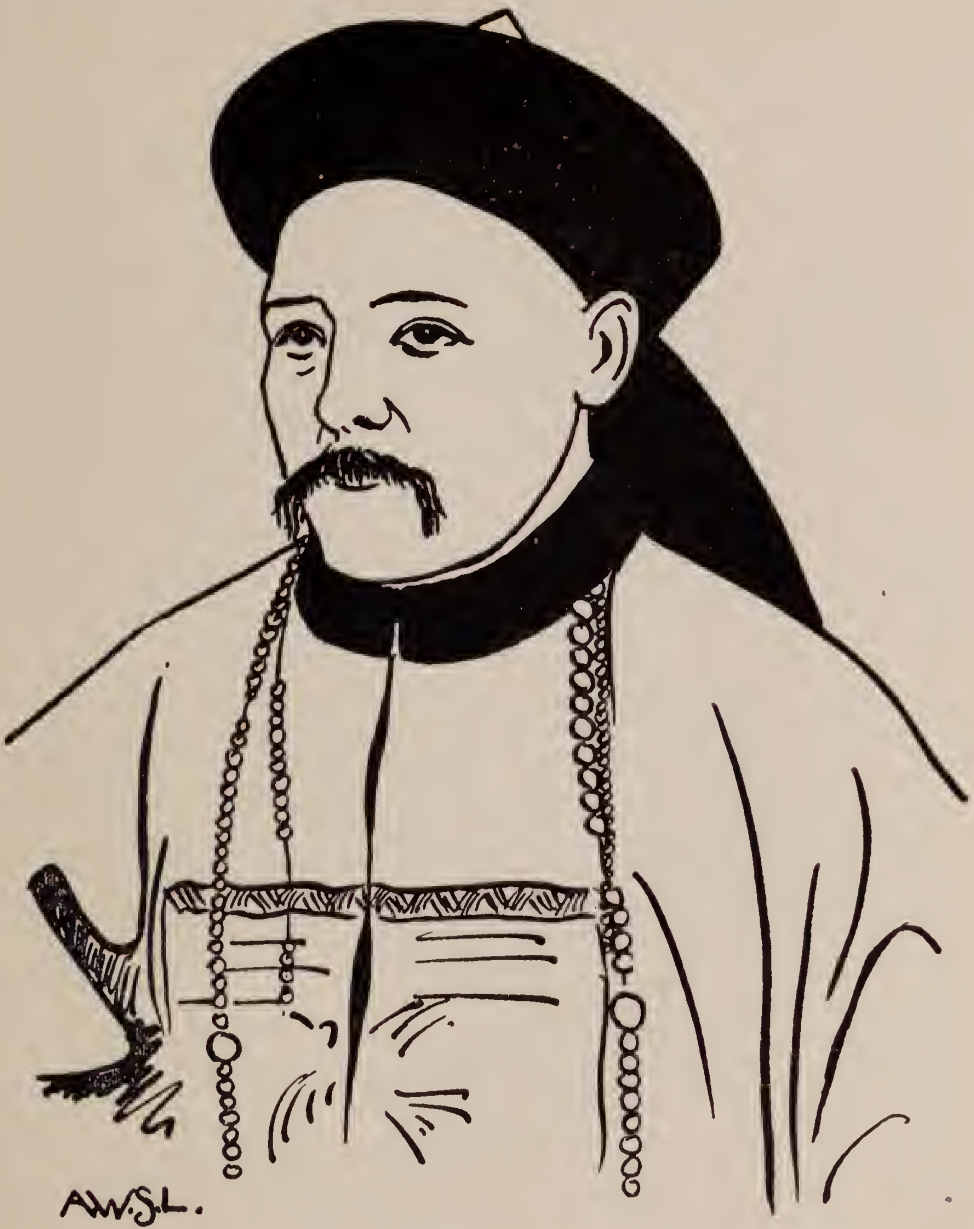
SUN YAT-SEN. This man was Dr. Sun Yat-sen,[1] who deserves to be remembered as much for the years that he spent in obscure and sometimes apparently hopeless agitation as for the achievements which brought his name prominently into the newspapers of the world. *Sun Wên,* or, as he is more generally called, Sun Yat-sen, was born in 1866 in the province of Kwangtung, and at the age of thirteen accompanied his mother to Honolulu. Here for three years he was a pupil in the Anglican Mission School, Iolani College, and was then transferred to Oahu College. Returning to China, he entered Queen's College, Hongkong, and, after another visit to the Hawaiian Islands, took up the study of medicine at Canton. Subsequently he was at the College of Medicine in Hongkong, but soon commenced the career of an agitator and organizer against the Manchus. Forced to flee from China, he visited New York and London, where in 1896 he put forth what might be called the first manifesto of the Revolution. He declares that since the authorities at Peking had failed to learn the lesson which contact with the outside world had given them, he considered the door closed to pacific methods and would henceforth be an advocate of violence. He arrived in London on the first of October, 1896, and was kidnaped on the 11th, at the instance of the Chinese Government, as he says, " almost before he had learned to distinguish between Holborn and the Strand." Confined in the Chinese Legation, he made his imprisonment known to friends through a paper thrown into the street, and his liberation was promptly secured by the British Government. In the years that followed Dr. Sun labored indefatigably for his cause, traveling incessantly under all kinds of disguises, entering into relations with men and societies, obtaining money for his projects and writing in explanation of them. " The old monarchy must transform itself into a Republic," he wrote in 1904, and two years after, in Tokyo, he succeeded in welding together the different elements of the anti-dynastic movement, so as to give tangible purpose to the revolutionists of every color. How well he laid his plans the events of the fall of 1911 will bear witness.

The Revolution. There are some things which are so universally anticipated that when they do happen they take everybody by surprise. It was so with regard to the Chinese Revolution. Every newspaper, every missionary, every diplomat, foretold it time and time again. Yet when the outbreak came in September, 1911, the exclamation on the lips of all was "How sudden!" In a sense it was sudden, because the explosion did not take place at the contemplated time. A *coup de main* had been attempted as far back as 1907 on the frontier of Tongking and had failed. The insurrections broke out here and there, any one of which might have fired the main charge. In the summer of 1911 those in the secret knew it would come soon, but it came six months sooner than had been planned. The immediate cause was the Szechwan Railway strike, due to the fear that the Four Power Loan would lead not only to the introduction of foreign capital and material, but also of foreign political control. The strike necessitated the movement of troops from Wuchang westward, and this movement led to the rising in Wuchang against the Manchus. Three ringleaders were promptly decapitated, but their blood was the seed out of which the Revolution sprang with magical force. With the Revolutionary Committee alive to its opportunity and Li Yuan-hung at the head of the revolutionary army, in fifteen days all the lower Yangtse Kiang valley was lost to the Empire, and by mid-November fourteen provinces had declared their independence. City after city, including Ichang, Changsha, Kiukiang, were captured in October, and before the end of the month a remarkable and grovelling edict in the name of the Emperor appeared, "a whining appeal for the mercy of the people," combined with a promise to grant a Constitution and remove the grievances of the insurrectionists. Shanghai went over to the rebels on November 1; Soochow and Hangchow followed suit, and the warships under Admiral Sah went over in a body. In an edict of November 4 the Emperor is made to say: "Hereafter anything which the people may suggest, if it is in accordance with public opinion, we will openly adopt. Heaven owns the people and provides rulers for them. The people's ears and eyes are Heaven's ears and eyes."

Yüan Shih-kai. Meanwhile the authorities at Peking were moved to call Yüan Shih-kai from his seclusion. He was the only man who seemed likely to succeed; if he failed, the Grand Council would not be sorry to witness his disgrace. He demurred somewhat, naturally doubtful as to whether his "rheumatism" was sufficiently healed, but eventually arrived at Peking on November 13, accepted the Premiership, chose a cabinet, composed largely of unknown quantities, and prepared to gain time by negotiations. With Nanking as yet untaken and Wuchang and Hanyang recaptured, it was evidently the psychological moment for diplomacy. By securing a truce Yüan Shih-kai strengthened his position from day to day and, though personally in favor of a limited monarchy, was prepared to accept the real mandate of the people for the creation of a Republic.

Peace Negotiations. The resignation of the Regent on December 6 simplified matters, as he had been vacillating throughout. In his place the Empress Dowager was appointed. The Shanghai Conference was held the third week of December, T'ang Shao-yi representing the Imperialists and Wu Tingfang the Republicans. The Revolutionary Committee was even at this time urging the Presidency of the Republic upon Yüan Shih-kai, but the astute Premier was still non-committal, and the Conference broke up without result two or three days after its opening. Nevertheless, the drift towards the Republic was plainly irresistible, and on December 28 the Imperial family left Peking, whilst an edict proclaimed that the question of Monarchy or Republic was to be left to a National Assembly. The next day a provisional Convention, meeting at Nanking, elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen the first President of the Chinese Republic. In this capacity he held a review of the fleet at Shanghai on Jan. 12, 1912.

Abdication of the Emperor. Even without the help of the projected National Convention affairs were now shaping themselves towards a certain end. All through January, 1912, plans were being considered for the abdication of the Imperial house. These plans were favored by Prince Ching, who was convinced of the hopelessness of reëstablishing Manchu authority in the provinces. The Nanking Committee was perfectly willing to coöperate with Yüan



YÜAN SHIH-KAI

Shih-kai in this matter, and Sun Yat-sen showed his customary reasonableness and unselfishness in his willingness to retire from the Presidency in favor of the elder statesman. However, the truculent opposition of the ex-Boxer leader, Tieh Liang, delayed matters without assisting the cause of the Manchus, and it was not till February 7 that the announcement of the abdication of Hsuan Tung was made. It secured suitable and generous provision for the Emperor, Princes and hereditary nobles, and declared that all "the Five Families," Chinese, Manchus, Mongols, Muhamadans and Tibetans should be treated on an equal footing.

END OF THE MANCHU DYNASTY. The two hundred and sixty-seven years of Manchu rule ended on February 12, 1912. On this day three edicts, each commencing in the customary way, were issued. The first runs in part as follows: "To-day the people of the whole Empire have their minds bent upon a Republic, the Southern provinces having initiated the movement and the northern generals having favored it subsequently. The will of Providence is clear and the people's wishes are plain. How could I for the sake of the glory and the honor of one family thwart the desire of teeming millions? Wherefore I (the Empress Dowager) with the Emperor decide that the form of Government in China shall be a Constitutional Republic to comfort the longing of all within the Empire and to act in harmony with the ancient sages, who regarded the throne as a public heritage." Yüan Shih-kai is then given plenary power to establish a Provisional Republican Government and to act in coöperation with the Republican Provisional Government at Nanking to assure peace and tranquility.

The third edict exhorts all to quietness and harmony and speaks of the desire of the Throne to terminate the period of anarchy and to restore to the land the blessings of peace.

Sun Yat-sen at once sent a telegram expressing his extreme delight at the news of the Emperor's abdication, and requesting the presence of Yüan Shihkai at Nanking immediately. But the latter wisely enough declined to leave Peking, and ere long a remarkable deputation, representing New China, frock-coated and silk-hatted, arrived at the Capital to place in the hands of the new President the tremendous responsibility a successful revolution had entailed.

THE END OF A DYNASTY. The feelings of the world were perhaps most fittingly voiced in the words of a striking leading article which appeared in the London *Times*, February 16, 1912: —

" The ' Son of Heaven ' has abdicated, the Manchu dynasty reigns no longer, and the oldest Monarchy of the world has been formally constituted a Republic. History has witnessed few such surprising revolutions and none perhaps of equal magnitude, which has been carried out in all its stages with so little bloodshed. Whether the last of these stages has been reached is one of the secrets of the future. Some of those who know China best cannot but doubt whether a form of Government so utterly alien to Oriental conceptions and to Oriental traditions as a Republic can be suddenly substituted for a Monarchy in a nation of four hundred millions of men, whom kings with semi-divine attributes have ruled since the first dim twilight of history. China or, at all events, articulate China has willed to have it so. She has embarked with a light heart upon this great adventure and we heartily desire that it may bring her the progressive and stable government she craves."

NOTE

1. The book "Sun Yat-sen and the Awakening of China," by the Reformer's friend Dr. James Cantlie, is disappointing and omits many important facts.

CHAPTER XXX

THE CHINESE REPUBLIC

The installation of Yüan Shih-kai — administering the Republic — a year after — the Mongolian situation — financial affairs — the Anglo-Chinese Opium agreement — Death of the Empress Lung Yu — the electoral system — the opening of Parliament — a call to prayer.

Installation of Yüan Shih-kai. The formal installation of Yüan Shih-kai as Provisional President took place at Peking on March 10. The ceremony is described as "stately and impressive and worthy of the historic occasion." The oath taken by Yüan runs as follows: "Since the Republic has been established many works have been performed. I shall endeavor faithfully to develop the Republic, to sweep away the disadvantages of absolute Monarchism, to observe the Constitutional laws, to increase the welfare of the country, and to cement together a strong nation, embracing all the five races. When the National Assembly appoints a permanent President I shall retire. This I swear before the Chinese Republic." On April 1 Dr. Sun Yat-sen and the Provisional Government resigned the seals of office, the first elected President of the Republic retiring with the respect due to an unselfish and high-minded patriot. On April 29 an Advisory Council representing all the Provinces, Mongolia, Tibet and

Koko nor, assembled at Peking under the presidency of Lin Sen, a relative of the famous Commissioner Lin of the Opium-war fame. A deeply impressive address was delivered by Yüan Shih-kai and it was generally conceded that the outlook was hopeful.

ADMINISTERING THE REPUBLIC. Notwithstanding, however, a hopeful outlook the new President had in administering the Republic difficulties with which to contend which would have staggered a less experienced statesman. Some of these we shall have to speak of presently, but the result of Yüan's first few months of office was undoubtedly to strengthen his position in the country. The appointment of Dr. G. E. Morrison as Political Adviser brought to his side the assistance of one whose wide knowledge of foreign affairs and intimate acquaintance with existing conditions in China (arising from fifteen years' residence) were bound to be of the highest value. The Cabinet under T'ang Shao-yi was not a success, but a new Cabinet under Lu Cheng was nominated and approved by the Advisory Council in June. In August a somewhat troublesome question arose over the arrest and subsequent execution of General Chang Chin-wu and General Hwang-hui on the charge of promoting a second revolution in the interest of some southern malcontents. There was naturally a good deal of protest on the part of radical sympathizers, but the President's strong position was proved and no crisis came.

A YEAR AFTER. Apart from two difficulties of a special character still to be described, the outlook for the Republic a year after the Revolution was not discouraging. Writing a few weeks before this, Dr.

Morrison says: "People hardly realize the immense change that has had to take place in the administration of the country. Under the old *régime* no man could hold office in the province of his birth. Now the reverse rule is observed. Most officials in the provinces are now natives of the provinces in which they are serving. Surely the interests of the province are thus better served than under the old system. . . . For the first time the people who pay the taxes have a voice in the expenditure of their taxes. These changes have involved the recasting of the whole internal machinery of government. That the change has been effected with such comparative smoothness should inspire hope in the future of the country and should enable observers to realize how little foundation there is for hysterical and sensational forecasts of civil war and disruption." This was the situation when the anniversary of the Revolution was observed October 10, 1912. There were certain political changes and the inevitable readjustments following from the adaptation of the Chinese patriarchal system to the conditions of western commercial life. Beyond this, the substance of the national existence remained the same. The London *Times* asserts on September 27: "All this will remain in spite of the change from the Manchu Dynasty to a so-called Republic. The heads of the Republic will merely take the paternal position of the Emperors to themselves and as likely as not will either disguisedly or openly perpetuate another dynasty. Indeed no other solution to a patriarchal country seems possible. This revolution, then, is not really an important change in China, it is not a social revolution, effecting a social change. It is only a change of directors. The main business will remain the same." On this point, of course, opinion will differ.

THE MONGOLIAN SITUATION. Two difficulties have been mentioned which it has been the fate of the Republican Government to encounter from the very start. The first is that relating to Mongolia. Soon after the beginning of the Revolution Mongolia declared its independence of China and established itself under an ecclesiastical ruler, known as the Hutukhtu. Under ordinary circumstances the new Republic could probably have overcome the insurrectionary movement and Mongolia could have been brought to occupy the position among the Five Families indicated by the new flag. But as time went on it became apparent that behind the Mongolian desire for independence was intrigue on the part of Russia. This intrigue culminated in a Treaty made directly between Russia and Mongolia without reference to the supreme claims of China. The text of the Treaty was as follows:

"1. The Imperial Russian Government shall lend Mongolia support in the maintenance of the autonomous *régime* established by the latter, and in vindication of her right to maintain a National Army and to prevent the invasion of her territory by Chinese troops or its colonization by Chinese subjects.

"2. The Regent of Mongolia and the Mongolian Government concede to Russian subjects and to Russian trade in Mongolian territory the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges as heretofore and as set forth in the annexed protocol. It is understood that subjects of other powers are not to receive in Mongolia more extensive rights than those conceded to Russians.

"3. If the Mongolian Government considers it to be necessary to conclude a special agreement with China or any other Foreign State such agreement is not to traverse or modify the articles of this Treaty and Protocol without the assent of the Imperial Russian Government."

This placed China in the difficult position of appearing to allow Mongolia to drift, unless she were prepared to make war, even to the extent of a conflict with Russia. In view of the financial situation this latter course was plainly impossible. Nor was this the worst. Encouraged by the apparently successful defection of Mongolia and probably influenced by the same subtle diplomacy, Tibet has practically taken the same attitude towards the Republic and both territories seem at the present time to have conspired to break up the unity of the Five Families.

FINANCIAL AFFAIRS. The great weakness, hitherto, of the Republic has been financial rather than political. In other words the political complications might have been overcome had the new Government had at its disposal money wherewith to discharge existing obligations and promote new enterprises. Soon after the birth of the Republic it was sought to make a loan of $300,000,000 through a group of bankers representing England, Germany, France, the United States, and afterwards Russia and Japan. This was known as the *Six Power Loan.* It was not popular in China where the cry was raised that the country was being mortgaged to the foreigner. Nor was it much liked by the foreign banks which had had sad experience of loans to such countries as Turkey, Persia, Morocco, and Honduras. An attempt was indeed made to raise the required sum by an internal national loan but, in the case of so poor a country as China, the idea was doomed to failure from its inception. Then came the attempts in the fall of 1912 to float a loan of $50,000,000 in London, to be secured on the free surplus of the salt *gabelle,* and to be used for the repayment of existing loans and the Boxer indemnity. This was naturally opposed by the Six Power Group and also by the British Government. Nevertheless, the loan was floated in October and one-half issued. But all attempts to reconcile the conflicting interests of prospective lenders proved abortive and by the end of 1912 China was financially in a very serious situation. She was in default on the indemnity; the Powers had not yet replied to the request for an extension of time; no advances had been arranged from the Crisp loan; moreover, France and Russia were working together and threatening to make China bankrupt. The danger of foreign intervention was never so near as at this time. Things have not greatly improved perhaps since. President Wilson made it clear in one of his earliest statements that so far as the American Government is concerned the Six Power Group is at an end. Smoother water, however, was reached with the re-election of Yüan Shih-kai by the National Assembly.[1]

THE ANGLO-CHINESE OPIUM AGREEMENT. A difficulty of a lesser kind, yet still serious, lay in the doubt as to whether China was faithfully fulfilling her obligations to Great Britain in the reduction of the opium crop. It was reported that while in the ports the disposal of the imported opium had been to such an extent frustrated that there was an enormous accumulation of stock in the hands of the merchants, that a large opium crop had nevertheless been harvested throughout China and that provinces which had previously reduced their area of cultivation had again planted the poppy on a large scale. A warning was thereupon issued to the Chinese Government, which had some excuse for the reply that the disturbed state of the country during the Revolution and since had led to some districts disregarding the agreement but that the Peking authorities were earnestly endeavoring to comply with the provisions of the Treaty. In any case, we must recognize the great progress made by China in the campaign against the drug and the likelihood that an iniquitous chapter in the history of commerce will be closed by 1917.

DEATH OF THE EMPRESS, LUNG YU. On Feb. 22, 1913, the Empress Dowager, Lung Yu, passed away, possibly from the effects of a dose of poison, but, according to the news given out, from an acute malady resembling appendicitis. She possessed much of the grim and masterful character of her illustrious aunt and had always been unsympathetic with the ideals and projected reforms of her husband, the Emperor Kwang Hsü. In his last years she had played the part of a spy in the interest of Tsi Thsi.

THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM. In the autumn of 1912 the promulgation of the Electoral laws directed the attention of the people of China to the fact that they were soon to take part in the election of delegates to the Senate, House of Representatives and Provincial Assemblies. The primaries were to be held in December, 1912, and the final elections in January. The new National Assembly was to be bi-cameral. The Senate was to consist of members elected by the Provincial Assemblies for a term of six years, ten senators to be returned by each Provincial Assembly, twenty-seven by the Electoral colleges of Mongolia, eight by the Central Educational Society and six by Chinese residing abroad. One-third of the Senators will retire every two years and, to ensure this, the various groups will be divided by lot into three classes to serve respectively two, four and six years. The House of Representatives will be formed on a basis of proportionate representation, one representative to about eight hundred thousand people. The qualifications for voting are said to be not very exacting, yet on account of deficiency of education the number of voters at present is comparatively small. Those who have been deprived of civil rights, who are bankrupts, opium smokers, insane or illiterate may neither vote nor be elected. Monks, priests, naval and military officers, judges and administrative officials generally are also deprived of these privileges.

The Opening of Parliament. Both houses of the new Parliament were opened on April 8. It is described as an impressive ceremony. "At 10 o'clock the joint inauguration of the Senate and the House of Representatives took place in the Lower Chamber, while simultaneously one hundred and one guns boomed outside the adjacent city wall. Within the House were assembled five hundred representatives out of a total membership of five hundred and ninety-six, and also a hundred and seventy-seven Senators out of two hundred and seventy-four. Nearly all wore frock coats, and appeared fully to realize the responsibility of their position. The public galleries were crowded almost to suffocation with Chinese and foreign visitors. At 11 o'clock the assembled bands played the National Anthem and the members stood up while the senior member of the House of Representatives, on behalf of both houses, formally declared Parliament open."

A CALL TO PRAYER. That the momentousness of the situation was not unrealized by those in authority is shown by the remarkable message adopted by the Cabinet and telegraphed by the Chinese Government to the leaders of the Chinese Churches in China for transmission throughout the world. The text is as follows:

" Prayer is requested for the National Assembly, now in session, for the newly established Government, for the President yet to be elected, for the Constitution of the Republic, that the Government may be recognized by the Powers, that peace may reign within our country, that strong virtuous men may be elected to office, that the Government may be established upon a strong foundation. Upon receipt of this telegram you are requested to notify all churches in your province that April twenty-seventh has been set aside as a day of prayer for the nation. Let all take part." Probably the issuance of such an appeal is without precedent in the world's history. It ought to be of good omen for the future of the Republic.

Conclusion. The re-election of Yüan Shih-kai, the acceptance by the Chinese Government of the Five Power Loan agreement on April 28th are both events which may be regarded as offering a reasonable guarantee of the stability of the new form of government. At this moment to say more might be rash.

The Emperor K'ang Hsi is said to have built the wonderful marble junk in the palace grounds of Peking with the belief that it would be in its perpetuity a symbol of the continuance of the Manchu dynasty. The question on the lips of all interested in the future of China must necessarily be, Will the Ship of the Republic endure? There are various views which may be chronicled without the writer venturing upon the risky *rôle* of the prophet. There are, first of all, the out and out pessimists. These believe that things have already gone so far that China's day is already over. Mongolia and Tibet, they say are already lost, and Manchuria as good as lost. China is sold to the money-kings of Europe and cannot even spend the money she borrows except for objects dictated by the powers. Russia and France have intrigued so that they hold China in their grasp, while Japan is an unwilling witness of Russia's gradual recovery of the ground she lost in 1905, and Great Britain grumblingly lets things go as they are going in Asia in order to maintain France's friendship in Europe. Yüan Shih-kai is between the upper and nether mill-stones of Manchu hope of restoration and the southern desire for more radical reformation. That is one view.

Another is that of the extreme reformers, represented in the Kuomingtang (i.e. 'Republican' party), men who dream dreams and see visions of a more thorough-going Republicanism than has yet been adventured. The party is powerful enough in the National Assembly and in the country to give plenty of trouble. Can they surmount all the practical difficulties in the way of translating their theories into action so as to supersede the present order?

Between the two extremes is the large body which recognizes in Yüan Shih-kai the hope of China. "An opportunist of the Oriental type, guided by an extremely acute intelligence and sound judgment of his fellow-countrymen," he is still the man of the hour. He "leads the Republic, is the Republic, and draws the protagonists of the Revolution towards himself as if they were so many steel filings."

May we not see in the recent recognition of the Chinese Republic by the United States of America the expression of a belief on the part of a sympathetic America that the new government has come to stay and will triumphantly weather the present storms? There is much need not only for sympathy but also for practical help. As Lord William Cecil puts it: "Let Western races join together to give them what they need, and in so doing they will not merely benefit China, though as China counts for a quarter of the population of this world, and is nearly equal to the number of men who have a right to call themselves civilized, that were no small merit; but they will do more, for they will by common acts of mercy and love bind each to each so that the horrid curse of racial hatred shall not be again able to divide them."[2]

Beyond all conflicting views we feel in the hearts of the millions of awakened Chinese and of those who sympathize with China's dream of a yet ampler destiny a hope which is inspired not merely by belief in the genius of this or that statesman, not merely by faith in this or that theory of political government, not merely by dependence upon this or that group of foreign powers but by earnest seeking after the way of truth and righteousness which enables nations as well as individuals to live long in the land. The words of the old Ode are still true —

"Good men are bulwarks; while the multitudes
Are walls that ring the land;
Great states are screens;
Each family a buttress; the pursuit
Of righteousness secures repose."

NOTES

1. A telegram dated Peking, May 14, is as follows: "The first advance of $1,200,000 was paid to-day to the Chinese government by representatives of the five-power group of financiers with whom China recently negotiated a loan for $125,000,000."

2. "Changing China," p. 328.

CHAPTER XXXI

THE PRESIDENCY OF YÜAN SHIH-KAI

Rifts in the Republican lute — dissatisfaction with the President — Yüan dispenses with parliamentary forms — the capture of Tsingtao — trouble with Japan — the ultimatum of 1915 — the Monarchical movement — Yüan at the altar of Heaven — resignations among the statesmen — the Emperor Hung Hsien — revocation of the monarchy — rebellion in the Provinces — death of Yüan Shih-kai — estimate of the first President — the future of China.

The Chinese Revolution, which had attained such a bewildering success, in all probability beyond the expectations of the leaders who had started the movement, was swept, as we have seen, into the enthusiasm of Republicanism largely through the influence of students newly returned from abroad. The events which followed were sufficient to cast some doubt on the entire wisdom of the change, but we have noted already some of the difficulties encountered and overcome by the astuteness of the President. Seeds, however, had already been sown which were destined ere long to produce a precious crop of ills.

The inexperience of many of the statesmen of the new régime was soon displayed: the futile railway schemes of Sun Wên may be instanced as a sufficient example. There were, moreover, men who had embarked upon the troubled sea of revolution, not from any motives of patriotism but from purely selfish reasons, the desire for loot or for the corrupt exercise of power. There was also a swarm of ever-ready bandits, eager to act as the physical force wing of any intriguing party prepared to take advantage of their courage. The White Wolfs, actual and potential, of the years following the Revolution did not lack for backing and sympathy among the politicians. It is easy, under these circumstances, to perceive reasons for the split which soon occurred between Yüan Shih-kai and the more hasty spirits who held that Yüan's position was wholly due to their own support. The experienced and *rusé* statesman, well aware that the Chinese people were not to be transformed over-night, was gradually making progress in restoring peace to the country, but the plans he had in mind were regarded as reactionary or at least were received with little enthusiasm. The hot-heads were anxious to overturn all the past in order to win success for their radical schemes.

Hence the Revolution of 1913, wherein many of the leaders of the earlier revolution aligned themselves against the authority they had done so much to establish. The fighting centered around Shanghai and Nanking, where the forlorn hope of the rebels was finally overcome and that which they had hoped would become a nation-wide uprising became little better than a farce. Sun Wên and Huang Hsing fled to Japan, while the city of Nanking, the helpless tool of their ambition, fell victim to as brutal and savage a looting, at the hands of the braves commanded by Chang Hsün, as had ever stained Chinese history.

Despite the suppression of the rebellion, Yüan still found his power far from unquestioned because of the activities of the Kuomingtang, or so-called Parliamentary Party. So, in November of the same year, the President closed the abortive Parliament and proscribed the members of the objectionable society. From this time on Yüan ruled with the absolute sway of an Emperor. He made the provinces once more subservient to Peking, restoring somewhat the old system of provincial government which had existed under the Ch'ing emperors. The picturesque title of Tutuh, which the military governors had boasted, was now replaced by the older Chiang-chün. Taxes were once more subject to other than the will of the provinces who paid them, or neglected to pay them, as the case might be. The President showed a surprising capacity for keeping his restive generals well in hand. A new Constitution was drawn up which, while it kept all power well secured in the hands of the Executive, yet, in the promulgation of the Tsan-cheng-yuan, or Council of State, and the Li-fa-yuan, or Law-making Council, showed an evident wish to employ the ability of the best men in the land and to develop, on conservative lines, a true parliamentary body. In all these decrees and acts of Yüan Shih-kai one finds difficulty in adequately measuring his sincerity, but can hardly go wrong in allowing at least the credit due to accomplishment.

The outbreak of the war in Europe threatened danger to the Government because of the funds which must be withdrawn inevitably from their use in the development of China and the support of its ruler. China had now to look to herself for money and this she did in a way truly astonishing. Although there was in many cases undoubted pressure, yet wealth to such an extent was collected by an internal " loan " as to promise a future independence from foreign capital, could peace be maintained and trade continued.

Yet there was one very direct way in which China felt the war. Germany had seized the Bay of Kiaochao in November, 1897, and had devoted unlimited effort and wealth to making Tsingtao a model city and towards assuring for this port much of the future trade of China. In the critical days of August, 1914, however, Tsingtao gave the Japanese their chance of revenge. As Great Britain's ally she sent an ultimatum demanding the German withdrawal from her Chinese possessions. It was characteristic of Oriental finesse that this ultimatum should be worded exactly as was the humiliating note which Germany presented in 1897, and on which so much light has been shown by the recently-published memoirs of Count Hayashi. With the overwhelming power at her command and assisted by the British forces in the Far East, Japan soon invested and captured Tsingtao.

China's concern, however, did not end so soon. At the beginning of the siege the President had marked out a zone of hostilities to which the Japanese unfortunately did not restrict themselves. Both sides had taken advantage of Chinese neutrality, but the Japanese went further, virtually seizing Tsinanfu, the capital of Shantung, and making themselves masters of that important province. When China, after the fall of Tsingtao, canceled the zone of hostilities which was no longer necessary, Japan took offense at what was undeniably China's right and presented at Peking a set of nineteen or, as they were later expanded, twenty-six demands.

There is yet much mystery about the famous demands which were presented by Japan early in 1915. One suspicious fact seems clear, namely, that they were submitted to China in a somewhat different form from the copies sent to Europe and America. It is possible their contents were dictated rather by the necessities of a political crisis in Japan, in which the Government was seeking a popular issue abroad to becloud certain unpleasant issues at home. Another explanation is that Oriental bargaining, the asking for much more than it was hoped to obtain, entered into these demands. However that might be, they were regarded in China as matching, in the way they assaulted the sovereign rights of China, the Austrian note to Serbia. Japan was to be given exclusive privileges in certain parts of the country quite in defiance of the doctrine of the Open Door; certain loans were to be made only from Japan; jurisdiction was asked for Japanese police-officers on Chinese soil; the Chinese army was to be trained by Japanese officers,— space fails to enable us to enumerate all the clauses. A wave of indignation swept over the whole Chinese nation such as has never before been witnessed. Money was poured into the exchequer of a Chinese Patriotic League; a boycott was organized throughout the land which proved so effective a tax on Japanese trade that diplomatic action had to be taken to lessen its intensity. Indeed, the best result of the unhappy affair was the new patriotism, to which the Chinese have been for so many years strangers, and which now bade fair to teach them something more than their own local interests and make them realize their own immeasurable but latent strength.

Throughout the spring of the year the negotiations between China and Japan proceeded and alarm was excited in Europe and America, inasmuch as some of the demands made by Japan seemed incompatible with treaty rights. A hint was needed from Washington to the effect that the United States could see no new treaty impairing her own guaranteed rights. But, after all, the main reason why Japan dropped her most oppressive demands was the courage with which Yüan Shih-kai, absolutely unbacked by armed force but fighting in a way to arouse the admiration and the conscience of the world, used his well-tried diplomatic skill. Japan cut off one demand after another until she reached the very least she could ask, and then only by employing an ultimatum and threat of war did she win the contest in which she had strained severely the good-will of her sincerest friends. The honors were the President's. By straightforward dealing he had done much to restore the prestige of Chinese diplomacy. Enemies, nevertheless, were at work, poisoning the minds of the people, so that the negotiations for which he should have received honor brought him general execration. The mass of the people, not realizing China's helplessness in the hands of Japan or else blinding themselves to it with the old bravado which had brought the country into so many past misfortunes, insisted that Yüan had betrayed his trust by yielding to the ultimatum. So they organized a national " Shame Day," to be kept for untold generations. Alas, but a year later and this Shame Day had passed into the realm of forgotten things.

The Monarchical movement, whose inception followed swift behind the close of the Japanese negotiations, is much too recent to lend itself to accurate historical judgment. The great mystery of Yüan Shih-kai's life is the part he played in this succession of events and the reasons he had for starting it. Was it just tyranny and selfish ambition, as his enemies so unhesitatingly declare, or was it with a real belief that this was desired and was necessary, and that China's only hope of an orderly maintenance and transmission of the government was the establishment of a dynasty, with the crown passing from father to son? It is very difficult at present to say; for the opposition which arose against the restoration of the Dragon Throne seems to have been as much, or almost as much, directed against Yüan's eldest son, Yüan Ko-ting, as against the President himself. Possibly, as some have suggested, Yüan's seclusion kept from his ears the real voice of the people. Yet here it must be remembered that the revolt which followed the restoration of the monarchy came as completely a surprise to foreign residents who had lived many years in China and who were admirably versed in the Chinese language and opinions. Few doubts were expressed that, though the movement was obviously engineered from Peking, it would be continued to a successful conclusion. The people seemed indifferent. While opposition was cautiously voiced by some, yet the ruling desire was that business should go on undisturbed. In some more conservative quarters — how widespread we cannot now decide — secret joy was felt at the dissipation of the republican dream. Many among the conservatives, however, could not reconcile Yüan's assuming the seat of the Son of Heaven with the existence of the boy Manchu, the deposed Emperor Hsuan T'ung. It was sacrilege.

The first hint of the coming changes was the Sacrifice to Heaven at the winter solstice of 1914, when the President performed what had been the function of the Emperors from time immemorial. The Confucian ceremonies in the provinces, which the Revolution had temporarily ended, had been fast reviving; the old calendar, holidays and festivals were taking on more of their former importance with the passage of each year; the Sacrifice of Heaven capped these. An interesting description of the ceremony is given in the *North China Daily News*, 24 June, 1916, from the pen of Mr. Frederick Moore.

We quote as follows: "On the occasion of the winter Solstice, 1914, honored by a long line not only of monarchs, but of dynasties, the late President went in state from his palace to worship Heaven at the famous open Altar that was formerly regarded as the center of the universe. In every respect the ceremony, with the splendor and something of the mysticism that surrounded it in early days, showed (at least so it would seem) that even then Yüan Shih-kai had decided to set a crown upon his head. The great white altar was a brilliant sight as the sun rose on that clear, cold December morning. At every pillar of the balustrade stood a spear-bearer in uniform and plumes like a modern European lancer in parade colors. In the enclosure immediately below were the musicians clad in robes of blue studded with stars and their instruments were those of the days when Confucius lived. A troop of choir-boys played reed pipes with pheasant feathers five feet in length swaying from them while stringed instruments and bells wailed and echoed through the thick belt of cypress trees. Just as the sun rose the President's motor-car, surrounded by a troop of officers on galloping Mongolian ponies, drew up at the last gate but one, whence the great man, High Priest of China, was borne in a sedan chair to the robing pavilion. From this presently he emerged, clad in a gown of blue with intertwining dragons and other symbols, and proceeded to offer in sacrifice to Heaven incense, the hair and flesh of a calf, the finest silk and a tablet signed and sealed by himself."

As the year 1915 advanced there were unexplained resignations on the part of many Chinese statesmen. Some plan was in the wind of which they disapproved. What it was China learned in August when, following upon the visit of Dr. Goodnow, formerly political adviser to the President, and almost coinciding with his memorandum of August 20, the Chou-an-hui was formed. This was, being interpreted, the Society for preserving Peace. To "preserve the peace" meant to set up a monarch, the usual Chinese euphemisms being employed for disguising an unpleasant aim. Of course the Chou-an-hui was officially rebuked; great indignation was hurled at its leaders by the newspapers; huge protest was made. Yet in a few weeks the movement had progressed so swiftly that to oppose the Chou-an-hui was to risk death. In November came the farcical election at which, without a dissenting vote, the electors of the whole nation, of radical Kwangtung and of conservative Honan alike, chose Yüan Shih-kai their Emperor. During these days of balloting the authorities in many provinces knew so well how that vague process would end that they gave the schools a *force majeure* holiday, ordered red lanterns displayed and forbade the five-striped flag of the Republic.

Strangely enough, in many parts of China far removed from Yunnan, reports of an imminent revolution were spread predicting to a day the outbreak which came in Yunnanfu on Christmas Day, 1915. The province furthest removed from Peking proclaimed her independence; Tsai Ao, formerly a friend of Yüan's and a general of much above the ordinary ability, had assumed the command, together with the provincial officials, appointees of Yüan's and among the earliest to telegraph a request that he ascend the throne. Though men of far greater strength and practical ability were connected with this rebellion than with that of 1913, yet the seriousness of the disturbance was not at first appreciated. Preparations went on at Peking: on New Year's Day, 1916, the title of the new reign was announced as Hung Hsien or *Overflowing Pattern.* Seals of gold and jade were being made, robes got ready, stamps actually issued to the post-offices to be used on the enthronement of the Emperor. All proclamations had substituted "*Hung Hsien, first year,*" lettered in vermillion, for the "*Chung Hwa Ming Kuo,*" or Central Flowery Republic, which four years' use had now made familiar to the people. Everything was in readiness for the enthronement, the date of which had actually been placed for the tenth or twelfth of February, when a sinister event halted proceedings and caused an edict of postponement. This was the revolt of another province, Kweichow, and the unlooked-for success of Yunnanese troops in Szechwan.

Too late Yüan Shih-kai perceived that a mistake had been made and in the weeks which followed he appeared undecided what course to pursue. The fighting in Szechwan varied; but disaffection was spreading. There was evident method in the plan of the rebels for a revolution which should reach gradually from the most remote of the Eighteen Provinces across the hundreds of intervening miles till it should seize upon Peking itself. The Emperor-elect at last saw how matters were tending and determined upon what must have been the most painful step of his career. This was the cancellation of the monarchy.

Unfortunately, the province of Kwangsi had just added her name to the rebel cause so that, although Yüan had prepared the cancellation edict before he heard of this new misfortune, the mandate came out too late and took from him what prestige it might otherwise have allowed. He was now in retreat and his foes, the more emboldened, no longer stopped with cancellation of the monarchy but demanded abdication. Province upon province followed, yet Yüan showed his strength by still checking the movement even when the whole of central China was frenzied with excitement and expecting independence at any moment. The forts at the mouth of the Yangtse actually rebelled only to return to their allegiance a few days later. Yüan was still at bay: he had made every concession except abdication; negotiations at Nanking had failed; the President, resolved to struggle to the last and taking advantage of conflicting counsels in the ranks of his opponents, had just ordered his generals to renew hostilities when he suddenly died. The event took place on June 6 and was attributed by the physicians in attendance to uræmia induced by nervous prostration, though there were not wanting the usual rumors of foul play. In any case, as some of Yüan's best friends have declared, at this juncture his death probably served the cause of China well and Li Yüan-hung in assuming the duties of Acting-President found the situation already a little less critical.

Of course, in a land so precedent-ridden as China, the death of the first President caused some perplexity to the official mind. Wires were sent to the Minister at Washington for information as to the proper etiquette and, by a strange irony of fate, this man, so essentially Chinese, was honored in the army and police by the wearing of black armlets, though black has no suggestion of mourning to the Chinese. But, in striking contrast to this bit of foreign innovation, there was a memorial service in the Temple of Agriculture of which the following account, from the *North China Daily News* of June 24, 1916, is worth quotation:

"The Temple is one of the lesser 'sights' of the capital, but a very charming spot none the less. Its main hall, the Tai Sui Tien, was, according to the latest reports, to be the scene of the major portion of the service. Anybody acquainted with the grounds can imagine the scene. In the center stood an altar flanked on either side by a dais on which choirs of Lamas and Taoist priests chanted solemnly. Sacrificial bowls of fruit and food, pewter vases and candlesticks, great copper incense-burners, tapestries beautifully worked and mellowed with age, were the chief ornaments. Each day the service began at seven in the morning and lasted till one o'clock and as it proceeded the grounds outside were filled with a large concourse of people,— the gentry and merchants of Peking, some dressed in official clothes, others in gowns of dark blue. In effective contrast with this somber coloring rose monumental arches or *pailous,* wreathed in white, and above the whole was the cloudless summer sky, the sun's rays striking spear-like through the gloom of the pines."

Years will be required to pass ere the true worth and character of Yüan Shih-kai can be appraised. Like the great Empress-Dowager, he can be accused of acts which, according to western standards, are indefensible but which have more than the shadow of an excuse in the ancient palace halls of Peking. As in the case of his great predecessor, it is not easy as yet to tell whether his ability was, after all, constructive or destructive. Did he hold together and conserve the nation at a moment of possible disruption or did he take a difficult heritage and hasten it only the more rapidly toward ruin? The hatred which he inspired among his own people in the later days of his life makes it more than usually hard to answer these questions. It is, in any case, pitiful to remember that the death of this man, who had given his life to facing the perils of his country, should arouse nothing but joy in the hearts of the majority of the people. Yüan Shih-kai is dead and, by a large part of his race, unmourned, but we may hazard the belief that his fame will go down in history as the tragic glory of a second Mirabeau whose greatness calls for coming generations to recognize.

What of the future? There are many problems which China must solve before she can enjoy the blessings of republican government as we understand them. She must have better communications, more widely-extended education, security from the grinding poverty which makes vast multitudes indifferent to everything save the winning of the day's morsel of necessary food. She must learn to control the army and raise up some Jason to curb the mailed warriors which have followed upon the sowing of the Dragon's teeth. She must teach her officials honesty and her people patriotism. Above all she must possess her soul in patience and not expect a fully developed republicanism to spring full-grown like Athene from the brow of Zeus.

Yet there is no call for pessimism. One needs, to judge the potentialities of China accurately, to leave the cities with their poverty and degradation, to forget the rabid talk of politicians, and to go into the great open country where the many millions plow and sow and harvest, caring not a whit whether Emperor or President govern so long as Heaven grant peace and fine weather. On plains, seemingly as spacious as the sky itself, you will hear the boys singing while they ride the buffalo home at dusk or the peasants singing as they work in the glow of the full moon. Then you will realize the greatness of the honest industry which goes forward day by day, promising China long and sturdy life when the worries as to her future and her fate have been locked away in old books and forgotten.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

1. *Age of Fable.*

P‘an Ku
The Heaven Kings (12 brothers).
The Earth Kings (11 brothers).
The Man Kings (9 brothers).
The Ten Periods of Ascent.

2. *The Age of the Five Rulers.*

Fu Hsi	B. C. 2852
Shên Nung	B. C. 2737
Huang Ti	B. C. 2697
Shao Hao	B. C. 2597
Chwan Hü	B. C. 2513
Ti Kuh	B. C. 2435
Ti Chih	B. C. 2365
Yao	B. C. 2356
Shun	B. C. 2255

3. *Hsia Dynasty*

Yü	B. C. 2205
K‘i	B. C. 2197
T‘ai K‘ang	B. C. 2188
Chung K‘ang	B. C. 2159
Siang (and interregnum)	B. C. 2146
Shao K‘ang	B. C. 2079
Ch‘u	B. C. 2057
Hwai	B. C. 2040
Mang	B. C. 2014
Sieh	B. C. 1996
Pu Kiang	B. C. 1980
Kiung	B. C. 1921
Kin	B. C. 1900

K‘ung Kia	B. C. 1879
Kao	B. C. 1848
Fa	B. C. 1837
Chieh Kwei	B. C. 1818

4. *Shang (and Yin) Dynasty.*

T‘ang	B. C. 1766
T‘ai Kia	B. C. 1753
Yu Ting	B. C. 1720
T‘ai Kêng	B. C. 1691
Siao Kia	B. C. 1666
Yung Ki	B. C. 1649
T‘ai Mou	B. C. 1637
Chung Ting	B. C. 1562
Wai Jên	B. C. 1549
Ho Tan Kia	B. C. 1534
Tsu Yih	B. C. 1525
Tsu Sin	B. C. 1506
Yü Kia	B. C. 1490
Tsu Ting	B. C. 1465
Nan Kêng	B. C. 1433
Yang Kia	B. C. 1408
P’an Kêng (Yin Dynasty)	B. C. 1401
Siao Sin	B. C. 1373
Siao Yih	B. C. 1352
Wu Ting	B. C. 1324
Tsu Kêng	B. C. 1265
Tsu Kia	B. C. 1258
Lin Sin	B. C. 1225
Kêng Ting	B. C. 1219
Wu Yih	B. C. 1198
T‘ai Ting	B. C. 1194
Ti Yih	B. C. 1191
Chou Hsin	B. C. 1154

5. *Chou Dynasty.*

Wu Wang	B. C. 1122
Chêng Wang	B. C. 1115

K‘ang Wang	B. C. 1078
Chao Wang	B. C. 1052
Mu Wang	B. C. 1001
Kung Wang	B. C. 946
I Wang	B. C. 934
Hsiao Wang	B. C. 909
I Wang	B. C. 894
Li Wang	B. C. 878
Hsüan Wang	B. C. 827
Yu Wang	B. C. 781
P‘ing Wang	B. C. 770
Huan Wang	B. C. 719
Chuang Wang	B. C. 696
Hi Wang	B. C. 681
Hui Wang	B. C. 676
Siang Wang	B. C. 651
K‘ing Wang	B. C. 618
K‘uang Wang	B. C. 612
Ting Wang	B. C. 606
Kien Wang	B. C. 585
Ling Wang	B. C. 571
King Wang	B. C. 544
King Wang	B. C. 519
Yüan Wang	B. C. 475
Chêng Ting Wang	B. C. 468
K‘ao Wang	B. C. 440
Wei Lieh Wang	B. C. 425
An Wang	B. C. 401
Lieh Wang	B. C. 375
Hsien Wang	B. C. 368
Shên Tsing Wang	B. C. 320
Nan Wang	B. C. 314
Tung Chou Kün	B. C. 255

6. *Ch‘in Dynasty.*

Cho Siang Wang	B. C. 255
Hsiao Wên Wang	B. C. 250

Chuan Hsiang Wang	B. C.	249
Shih Huang Ti	B. C.	221
Urh Shih Huang Ti	B. C.	209
7. *Han Dynasty.*		
Kao Tsu	B. C.	206
Hui Ti	B. C.	194
Lü Hou	B. C.	187
Wen Ti	B. C.	179
King Ti	B. C.	156
Wu Ti	B. C.	140
Chao Ti	B. C.	86
Suan Ti	B. C.	73
Yüan Ti	B. C.	48
Ch'êng Ti	B. C.	32
Ngai Ti	B. C.	6
P'ing Ti	A. D.	1
Ju Tsŭ Ying	A. D.	6
Wang Mang	A. D.	9
Hwai Yang Wang	A. D.	23
Kuang Wu Ti	A. D.	25
Ming Ti	A. D.	58
Chang Ti	A. D.	76
Ho Ti	A. D.	89
Shang Ti	A. D.	106
An Ti	A. D.	107
Shun Ti	A. D.	126
Ch'ung Ti	A. D.	145
Chih Ti	A. D.	146
Huan Ti	A. D.	147
Ling Ti	A. D.	168
Hien Ti	A. D.	190
8. *Period of the Three Kingdoms.*		
(1) *Minor Han.*		
Chao Lieh Ti	A. D.	221
Hou Chu	A. D.	223
(2) *Wei.*		

	Wên Ti	A. D.	220
	Ming Ti	A. D.	227
	Fei Ti	A. D.	240
	Shao Ti	A. D.	254
	Yüan Ti	A. D.	260
(3)	*Wu.*		
	Ta Ti	A. D.	229
	Fei Ti	A. D.	252
	King Ti	A. D.	259
	Mo Ti	A. D.	264
9.	*Western Tsin Dynasty.*		
	Wu Ti	A. D.	265
	Hui Ti	A. D.	290
	Hwai Ti	A. D.	307
	Min Ti	A. D.	313
10.	*Eastern Tsin Dynasty.*		
	Yüan Ti	A. D.	317
	Ming Ti	A. D.	323
	Ch‘êng Ti	A. D.	326
	K‘ang Ti	A. D.	343
	Mu Ti	A. D.	345
	Ngai Ti	A. D.	362
	Ti Yih	A. D.	366
	Kien Wên Ti	A. D.	371
	Hsiao Wu Ti	A. D.	373
	An Ti	A. D.	397
	Kung Ti	A. D.	419
11.	*Earlier Sung Dynasty.*		
	Wu Ti	A. D.	420
	Shao Ti	A. D.	420
	Ying Yang Wang	A. D.	423
	Wên Ti	A. D.	424
	Hsiao Wu Ti	A. D.	454
	Fei Ti	A. D.	465
	Ming Ti	A. D.	465
	Ts‘ang Wu Wang	A. D.	473

	Chu Li	A. D.	473
	Shun Ti	A. D.	477
12.	*Ch‘i Dynasty*		
	Kao Ti	A. D.	479
	Wu Ti	A. D.	483
	Yü Lin Wang	A. D.	494
	Hai Ling Wang	A. D.	494
	Ming Ti	A. D.	494
	Tung Hwên Hou	A. D.	499
	Ho Ti	A. D.	501
13.	*Liang Dynasty*		
	Wu Ti	A. D.	502
	Kien Wên Ti	A. D.	550
	Yu Chang Wang	A. D.	551
	Yüan Ti	A. D.	552
	Chêng Yang Hou	A. D.	555
	King Ti	A. D.	555
14.	*Ch‘ên Dynasty*		
	Wu Ti	A. D.	557
	Wên Ti	A. D.	560
	Lin Hai Wang	A. D.	567
	Süan Ti	A. D.	569
	Hou Chu	A. D.	583
15.	*Sui Dynasty*		
	Kao Tsu	A. D.	589
	Yang Ti	A. D.	605
	Kung Ti Yu	A. D.	617
	Kung Ti T’ung	A. D.	618
16.	*T‘ang Dynasty*		
	Kao Tsu	A. D.	618
	T‘ai Tsung	A. D.	627
	Kao Tsung	A. D.	650
	Chung Tsung	A. D.	684
	Jui Tsung	A. D.	684
	Wu Hou	A. D.	684

	Chung Tsung (resumed)	A. D.	705
	Jui Tsung	A. D.	710
	Yüan Tsung	A. D.	713
	Su Tsung	A. D.	756
	Tai Tsung	A. D.	763
	Tê Tsung	A. D.	780
	Shun Tsung	A. D.	805
	Hsien Tsung	A. D.	806
	Mu Tsung	A. D.	821
	King Tsung	A. D.	825
	Wên Tsung	A. D.	827
	Wu Tsung	A. D.	841
	Süan Tsung	A. D.	847
	I Tsung	A. D.	860
	Hi Tsung	A. D.	874
	Chao Tsung	A. D.	889
	Chao Süan Ti	A. D.	905
17.	*Five Little Dynasties*		
	(1) *Later Liang*		
	T'ai Tsu	A. D.	907
	Mo Ti	A. D.	915
	(2) *Later T'ang*		
	Chuang Tsung	A. D.	923
	Ming Tsung	A. D.	926
	Min Ti	A. D.	934
	Fei Ti	A. D.	934
	(3) *Later Tsin*		
	Kao Tsu	A. D.	936
	T'si Wang	A. D.	943
	(4) *Later Han*		
	Kao Tsu	A. D.	947
	Yin Ti	A. D.	948
	(5) *Later Chou*		
	T'ai Tsung	A. D.	951
	Shih Tsung	A. D.	954

	Kung Ti	A. D. 960
18.	*Sung Dynasty*	
	T‘ai Tsu	A. D. 960
	T‘ai Tsung	A. D. 976
	Chên Tsung	A. D. 998
	Jên Tsung	A. D. 1023
	Ying Tsung	A. D. 1064
	Chên Tsung	A. D. 1068
	Chê Tsung	A. D. 1086
	Hui Tsung	A. D. 1101
	K‘in Tsung	A. D. 1126
	(Southern Sung)	
	Kao Tsung	A. D. 1127
	Hsiao Tsung	A. D. 1163
	Kuang Tsung	A. D. 1190
	Ning Tsung	A. D. 1195
	Li Tsung	A. D. 1225
	Tu Tsung	A. D. 1265
	Kung Ti	A. D. 1275
	Tuan Tsung	A. D. 1276
	Ti Ping	A. D. 1278
19.	*Yüan Dynasty*	
	Shih Tsu (Kublai Khan)	A. D. 1260
	Wu Tsung	A. D. 1295
	Ch’êng Tsung	A. D. 1308
	Jên Tsung	A. D. 1312
	Ying Tsung	A. D. 1321
	Tai Ting Ti	A. D. 1324
	Ming Tsung	A. D. 1329
	Wên Ti	A. D. 1330
	Shun Ti	A. D. 1333
20.	*Ming Dynasty*	
	T‘ai Tsu	A. D. 1368
	Hui Ti	A. D. 1399
	Ch‘êng Tsu	A. D. 1403

	Jên Tsung	A. D. 1425
	Süan Tsung	A. D. 1426
	Ying Tsung	A. D. 1436
	Tai Tsung	A. D. 1450
	King Ti	A. D. 1450
	Ying Tsung (resumed)	A. D. 1457
	Hsien Tsung	A. D. 1465
	Hsiao Tsung	A. D. 1488
	Wu Tsung	A. D. 1506
	Shih Tsung	A. D. 1522
	Mu Tsung	A. D. 1567
	Shên Tsung (Wan Li)	A. D. 1573
	Kuang Tsung	A. D. 1620
	Hi Tsung	A. D. 1621
	Chuang Lieh Ti	A. D. 1628
21.	*Ch‘ing Dynasty.* (Reign Titles).	
	Shun Chih	A. D. 1644
	K‘ang Hsi	A. D. 1662
	Yung Chêng	A. D. 1722
	Ch‘ien Lung	A. D. 1736
	Chia Ch‘ing	A. D. 1796
	Tao Kuang	A. D. 1820
	Hsien Fêng	A. D. 1850
	T‘ung Chih	A. D. 1861
	Kuang Hsü	A. D. 1875
	Hsüan T‘ung	A. D. 1908
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INDEX

INDEX

A

A-Fong Kung (palace), 77.
Aggression (European), 316.
Ahluta (Empress), 302.
Alikwan (general), 229.
Ama Wang (Regent), 187.
America (Relations with), 297.
Amherst (Lord), 248f.
Amiot (Père), 235, 249.
d'Andrade (Portuguese), 161.
An Ki-shêng (Taoist patriarch), 79.
Anti-dynastic movements, 274, 338.
"Arrow" affair, 283f.
Art (Chinese), 4, 122, 140.
Ascent (Periods of), 21.
Attiret (Père), 224, 289.
Audience question, 302.
August Periods, 20.
Awakening of China, 332.

B

Bayan (general), 145.
Blagovestchensk massacre, 329.
Boards (The Six), 47, 194.
Bodhidharma (patriarch), 107.
Book of Han, 93.
Boxer Rebellion, 324f.
Bowring (Sir John), 284.
Browning ("The Ring and the Book"), 202.
Bruce (Sir Frederick), 286, 293.
Buddhism (Introduction of), 94.
Burlinghame (Anson), 296, 304.
Burmah (War with), 228.
Burning of the Books, 77.

C

Calamities (national), 244.
California (Immigration to), 297.
Cambodia, 310.
Canning (Lord), 285.
Canton, 232, 260, 269, 284.
Carp (Significance of), 72.
Carpini (Franciscan), 144.
Cassini (Convention), 316.
Castiglioni (Jesuit), 224, 289.
Cathay, 9.
Central Asia (Wars in), 225, 300.
Chang Chih-ho (philosopher), 121.
Chang Chih-tung (viceroy), 308, 317.
Chang Chiu-ling (statesman), 116.
Chang Fei (soldier), 96.
Chang K'ien (general), 86.
Chang Kwang-sze (general), 225.

Chang Kwei (soldier), 134.
Chang Pau (pirate), 246.
Chang Shih-chieh (general), 135.
Chang-shun (soldier), 134.
Chang Sun (Empress), 113.
Chang Tao-ling (Taoist), 60.
Changtu (capital), 132, 133.
Chang Yih (pirate), 246.
Chao (general), 226.
Chao Kao (eunuch), 81.
Chao Wang (Emperor), 48.
Chê Tsung (Emperor), 131.
Chehkiang (province), 11.
Ch'eng T'ang (Emperor), 34, 36f.
Chêng Wang (Emperor), 47f.
Ch'i (state), 70.
Ch'i (dynasty), 101.
Chia Ch'ing (Emperor), 240ff.
Chia I (poet), 91.
Chiang Hsiang Wang (Emperor), 73.
Chieh (Emperor), 34f.
Ch'ien Lung (Emperor), 140, 223ff.
Chifu (convention), 306.
Chihli (province), 11.
Ch'in (State), 66, 70f.
Ch'in (dynasty), 73ff.
Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (Emperor), 60, 74ff, 177.
"China's Only Hope," 317.
Ching Chih-lung (pirate), 190.
Ching Ch'ing-kung (pirate), 190.
Chou (Duke of), 44f.
Chou (dynasty), 42ff, 55ff.
Chou-an-hui (Society for preserving Peace), 368.
Chou Hsin (Emperor), 37f.
Chou Li (Book of Chou), 46.
Chow Han (agitator), 312.
Christian Missions (Nestorian), 111; (Franciscan), 150; (Jesuit), 163; (Modern), 249.
Ch'u (State), 69, 70.
Chu-ko Liang (statesman), 96.
Chu Yuan (minister), 70.
Chu Yüan-chang (Emperor), 150, 155f.
Chu Yün-wên (Ming Emperor), 158.
Chuang (Prince of Ch'u), 57.
Ch'un (Prince), 308.
Ch'un Tsiu (classic), 53, 65.
Ch'ung-hou (diplomat), 299, 308.
Chung Hwa (Name of China), 9.
Chung K'ang (Emperor), 34.
Chung Kuo (Name of China), 9.
Chung Tsung (Emperor), 115.
Chung Wang (soldier), 279.
Chung Yung (classic), 66.
Chwang Tzŭ (philosopher), 59f, 69f.
Classics (Confucian), 64f, 112.
Cochin China, 310.
Columbus (voyage of), 3, 144.
Commerce (under T'angs), 123.
Confucius, 61ff.
Courbet (admiral), 311.
Coxinga (pirate), 61, 190.

Crisp (loan), 351.
Cushing (Caleb), 268.

D

Dardsha (Eleuth chief), 225.
Dayatsi (Eleuth chief), 225.
De Quincy (quoted), 227f.
Detring (Mr.), 314.
Drama (in China), 151f.
"Dream of the Red Chamber" (novel), 215.
Dutch (relations), 192, 234.

E

Earth (kings), 20.
East India Company, 248, 260.
Eastern Han (dynasty), 93.
Edicts (of K'ang Hsi), 207; (of Tao Kuang), 256; (of Kuang Hsü), 312, 319; (of Lung Yu), 343.
Electoral System (of Republic), 353.
Eleuths (wars with), 206.
Elgin (Lord), 285, 288.
Elixir Vitae, 78, 159.
Elliot (Sir Charles), 262f.
Encyclopædias, 159.
English (relations), 165, 193.
"Ever-victorious Army," 279.

F

Fa Hsien (Buddhist pilgrim), 106.
Favier (Bishop), 327.
Finances (of Republic), 351.
Five King (classics), 65.
Five Leaders, 55f.
Five Little Dynasties, 125f.
Five Relations, 64.
Five Rulers, 24ff.
Fleet (fiasco of the), 293.
"Flight of a Tatar Tribe," 227f.
Flint (Mr., of Ningpo), 232.
"Foam of the Sea" (pirates), 246.
Fontanier (French consul), 298.
Footbinding (origin of), 102; (attempt to suppress), 210.
Foreign Relations (under T'ang Dynasty), 110f.
Formosa, 9, 231, 259, 301, 315.
Fournier (French soldier), 311.
Four Shu (classics), 66.
France (relations with), 285, 287, 310, 315.
Fu Hsi (culture hero), 23, 24f.
Fuhkien (province), 11, 195.
Fu Su (Ch'in Prince), 81.
Fu-ti (general), 226.
Fu Wan (Prince), 188.

G

Galdan (Eleuth Prince), 206.
Galdan Chering (Eleuth Prince), 216.
Gerbillon (Jesuit), 206.
German Relations, 315.
Goodnow (Dr.), 368.
Gordon (general), 280.
Government (of China), 4, 12f.

Grand Canal, 103.
Grant (Sir Hope), 286.
Great Britain (wars with), 265f, 285f.
de Gros (Baron), 285.
Gurkhas, 231.

H

Han (dynasty), 83ff.
Han (sons of), 8.
Han Yü (scholar), 121.
Hangchow (city), 132, 145; (bore), 173.
Hart (Sir Robert), 294f.
Heaven (kings), 20.
Heaven and Earth (society), 215.
Henry of Portugal, 3, 144.
Hexagrams (the Sixty-four), 43.
Hiang Yu (general), 81, 83.
Hideyoshi (Japanese soldier), 128, 162.
Hiouen Tsang (Buddhist pilgrim), 106, 153.
Ho Ch'u-ping (general), 94.
Ho Shên, 241.
Ho Tsin, 95.
Hunn (province), 12.
Hongkong (cession of), 266.
Hsi Wang Mu (Royal Lady of the West), 48, 85.
Hsia (dynasty), 32f.
Hsiangyang (city), 134.
Hsien Fêng (Emperor), 283ff.
Hsien Ti (Emperor), 95.
Hsü Shên (scholar), 91.
Hsuan Tung (Emperor), 337, 343.
Hsüan Tsung (Emperor), 116, 151; (Ming Emperor), 160.
Hu Hai (Prince), 81.
Huan (Duke), 55.
Huan Wang (Emperor), 55.
Huang-ho (river), 10, 33, 237.
Huang Hsing, 361.
Huang Ti (Emperor), 26.
Hui Ti (Emperor), 158.
Hui Tsung (Emperor), 131.
Hunan (province), 12.
Hung Hi (Emperor), 159.
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan (T'aiping leader), 274f.
Hung Wu (Emperor), 155f.
Huns (the), 27, 85, 88.
Hupeh (province), 12.

I

I Ti (inventor of wine), 33.
I Tsung (Emperor), 119.
I Yin, 37.
Immigration (Chinese), 297.
"Isles of the Blest," 79.
Ito (Prince), 310.

J

Japan (Relations with), 80, 146, 161, 301, 313, 363f.
Jehangir, 259.
Jên Tsung (Sung Emperor), 130.
Jên Tsung (Mongol Emperor), 149.
Jên Tsung (Ming Emperor), 159.
Jenghiz Khan, 132f., 142, 144, 179.
Jesuits (missions of), 163f., 201, 224.
John de Monte Corvino (Archbishop), 151.

Jui Tsung (Emperor), 116.
Jung (barbarian tribe), 13.
Jung Lu (Prince), 326.

K

Kaidu (rebel), 149.
Kaifengfu (city), 166.
K'ang Hsi (Emperor), 184, 198ff.
Kang Yu-wei (scholar), 318.
Kansuh (province), 11, 19.
Kao Tsu (Emperor), 83.
Kao Tsu (T'ang Emperor), 109.
Kao Tsung (Emperor), 114.
Kashgaria, 258, 300, 308.
von Ketteler (murder of), 326.
Khabaroff (Russian explorer), 205.
Khanbaligh (Cambaluc), 148, 179.
Khitan (Tatars), 131.
Ki Tzŭ (minister), 39.
Kiangsi (province), 12.
Kiangsu (province), 11.
Kiaochao (lease of), 316; (loss of), 363.
Ki-lin (fabled beast), 19, 140.
Ki-ying, 267, 270, 283.
Kim Ok-kuin (Korean statesman), 313.
Kin (Tatars), 131, 183.
Korea, 10, 39, 162, 309, 313, 315.
Kowloon (cession of), 287.
Kuan Yü (soldier), 96.
Kuang Hsü (Emperor), 305ff.
Kuang Wu Ti (Emperor), 93.
Kublai Khan, 134, 143f.
Ku-fu-hing (grave of Confucius), 63.
Kuldja, 308.
K'ung (Dukes of), 61.
Kung (Prince), 287, 289, 291.
K'ung Fu (descendant of Confucius), 78.
Kuomingtang (society), 362.
Kuo Tzŭ-i (general), 117.
Kwan Tzŭ (philosopher), 55.
Kwangsi (province), 11.
Kwangtung (province), 11.
Kweichau (province), 12.

L

Lamas (of Tibet), 194, 207.
Language (Chinese), 14.
Lao Tzŭ (founder of Taoism), 57f.
Later Chou (dynasty), 125.
Later Han (dynasty), 125.
Later Liang (dynasty), 119, 125.
Later T'ang (dynasty), 125.
Later Tsin (dynasty), 125.
Legations (Siege of the), 326.
Lesser Seal (character), 77, 82.
Li (son of Confucius), 62.
Li (general), 278.
Li Fang (Indian Buddhist), 94.
Li Hung-chang (statesman), 279, 306, 307, 311, 313, 315, 330.
Li Ki (Book of Rites), 65.
Li Kuang (general), 86.
Li Kuang-li (general), 86.
Li Lung-mien (painter), 141.

Li Po (poet), 120.
Li Shih-min (Emperor), 109f.
Li Sin (general), 75.
Li Ssŭ (scholar), 77.
Li Tzŭ-ch'êng (rebel), 166, 185, 197.
Li Wang (Emperor), 49.
Li Yüan-hung (Vice-President and President), 341, 371.
Liang (dynasty), 102.
Liao (Tatars), 131.
Liaotung (peninsula), 164, 184, 314, 315.
Lieh Tzu (philosopher), 68.
Lin (Commissioner), 263.
Lin Sen (statesman), 248.
Lin Sin, 37.
Literature (Chinese), 4, 89f., 119f., 207f., 234.
Liu Hsiu (Emperor), 93.
Liu K'un-i (Viceroy), 325, 330.
Liu Pang (Emperor), 83.
Liu Pei (general), 96, 99.
Liu Yü (Emperor), 101.
Livadia (Treaty of), 308.
Loch (Sir Henry), 287.
Lolos (barbarian tribes), 13.
Loyang (city), 48, 95, 96.
Lu (kingdom of), 53, 61, 65.
Lu Hou (Empress), 84.
Lu Hsiu-fu (general), 135.
Lu Ngao (Taoist), 80.
Lun Yu (classic), 66.
Lung Yu (Empress), 353.

M

Ma Yüan (soldier), 94.
Macao, 161, 192, 248, 249.
Macartney (Earl of), 232f.
Magaillans (Père), 217.
Magianism, 111f.
Maigrot (Bishop), 202.
Man (barbarian tribes), 13.
Man (kings), 20.
Manchuria, 9, 329, 331.
Manchus, 164, 179f, 182ff.
Mandarins, 47, 54.
Mangu (khan), 134, 145.
Manichaeanism, 112.
Manning (Thomas), 23, 249, 252.
Marco Polo, 132, 144, 179.
Margary (murder of), 306.
Martini (Père), 186.
Maxims (of Lao Tzŭ), 59.
Mencius, 66, 67.
Mêng T'ien (general), 76.
Miao-tsz, 13, 33, 229, 259.
Micius (philosopher), 68.
Mienning (Prince), 244.
Milfoil (divination by), 27.
Ming (dynasty), 155ff., 179f.
Ming Ti (Emperor), 94.
Missionaries (massacres of), 325.
Mo Hsi (favorite), 34.
Mongolia, 9, 350.
Montauban (general), 287.
Morrison (Dr. G. E.), 348, 349.
Morrison (Robert), 249, 251.
Mu (Duke), 57.
Mu Tsung (Ming Emperor), 163.
Mu Wang (Emperor), 48f.
Muhamadan Rebellion, 299.
Muhamadanism (Introduction of), 111, 238.
Mukden (Eulogy of), 235.

N

Name (of China), 8, 75.
Nan Wang (Emperor), 71.

Nanking (city), 132; (Treaty of), 267f.
Napier (Lord), 261f.
Nayan (general), 149.
Nerchinsk (Treaty of), 193, 205.
Nest-builders, 21.
Nestorians, 111.
Ngan-hwui (province), 12.
Ngan-lo (Princess), 116.
Nien (general), 216.
Ning Tsi (philosopher), 56.
Northern Sung (dynasty), 101.
Novel (in China), 152f.
Nurhachu (Manchu chief), 164, 184.

O

Odes (Book of), 53, 65.
Ogdai (khan), 133.
Olupun (missionary), 111.
Opium question, 247, 269, 333, 352.
Origins (Chinese), 17.
Oyama (Count), 314.

P

Pan Chao (literata), 92.
Pan Ku (scholar), 92.
P'an Ku (myth of), 19f.
Pandects (of Yung-lu), 156.
Pao-ssŭ (favorite), 52, 54.
Paper (use of), 92.
Parkes (Sir Harry), 284, 287.
Parliament (Chinese), 333, 354.
Paul Su, 164.
Peking (city of), 132, 148, 287, 326, 327.
People (Chinese), 5, 13.
Perestrello (Raphael), 161.
Periods (Three August), 20.
Peter the Great, 206.
Pettlin (Evashto), 193.
Philippines (the), 224.
Pi Kan (minister), 38.
Pilgrims (Buddhist), 105f.
P'ing Ti (Emperor), 90.
P'ing Wang (Emperor), 53.
Poetry (Chinese), 119f, 235.
Polos (the), 143f.
Poppy (cultivation of), 247.
Population (of China), 13, 15, 123.
Port Arthur, 314, 316.
Portuguese affairs, 160f., 187, 217.
Poyarkoff (explorer), 205.
Prayer (call to), 355.
Pu Chü (Prince), 323.
P'u Sung-ling (novelist), 209.
Pu Yi (Emperor Hsuan Tung), 337.

R

Railways (in China), 307.
Reforms, 117, 209, 218, 317, 333.
Republic (Chinese), 347ff.
Revolution (of 1911), 337ff., 340.
Ricci (Matteo), 163.
Riots (anti-Christian), 312.
Riukiu Islands, 301f.
de Rubruk (Franciscan), 144.
Russia (relations with), 193, 204, 217, 289, 315, 350.
Russo-Japanese War, 332.

S

Sah (admiral), 341.

Salopan (rebel), 225.
Sankolinsin (general), 279, 287.
Schaal (Adam), 191, 201.
Secret Societies, 214f., 222, 238, 243.
Serica, Seres, 9.
Seven Sages (of the Bamboo Grove), 105.
Seven Scholars (of Chien An), 105.
Shang (dynasty), 36f.
Shang Ti (Supreme Being), 25.
Shang K'o-hi (general), 189.
Shansi (province), 11, 19.
Shantung (province), 11.
Sheep (in China), 18.
Shên Nung (Emperor), 26.
Shensi (province), 11, 19.
Shi King (classic), 53, 65.
Shih Hung-chao (statesman), 125.
Shih Tsung (Later Chou Emperor), 126.
Shih Tsung (Ming Emperor), 161.
Shimonoseki (Treaty of), 315.
Shu King (classic), 65.
Shun (Emperor), 28f.
Shun Chih (Emperor), 167, 186ff.
Shun Ti (Mongol Emperor), 149.
Shuo Wên, 91.
Si Kiang (river), 10, 246.
Si-ling (Empress), 27.
Si Wang (rebel), 189.
Siang (Duke), 56.
Singanfu (city), 111; (Inscription of), 111.
Six Power Loan, 351.
Smith (Bishop), 273.
Southern Sung (dynasty), 129, 133.
Ssŭ-ma Ch'ien (historian), 26, 31, 87, 90.
Ssŭ-ma Kuang (historian and statesman), 136, 138f.
Staunton (Sir George), 233.
Su She (Taoist), 80.
Su Ts'in (statesman), 70.
Su Tsung (Emperor), 117.
Su Wu (ambassador), 86.
Suan Wang (Emperor), 50.
Sugiyama (Japanese chancellor), 326.
Sui (dynasty), 103.
Sui Jên (Chinese Prometheus), 21.
Suleiman (Sultan), 300.
Summer Palace (destruction of), 288.
Sun Yat-sen, 338ff., 342, 346, 361.
Sung (dynasty), 129ff.
Sung (Chinese pilgrim), 106.
Sung Philosophers, 140.
Sung Yün (statesman), 242.
Suta (general), 156.
Szechwan (province), 11.
Sze-hai (name of China), 9.

T

T'a Chi (favorite), 38, 41.
Tai Ch'ing (dynasty), 168, 186f.
Tai Hsiao (classic), 66.
T'ai K'ang (Emperor), 34.
T'ai P'ing (Princess), 116.
T'aiping (rebellion), 273ff.

T'ai Tsu (Sung Emperor), 129.
T'ai Tsung (T'ang Emperor), 110f.
T'ai Tsung (Sung Emperor), 130.
T'ang (dynasty), 109ff.
T'ang Shao-yi (statesman), 342, 348.
Taoism, 59f., 78.
Tao Kuang (Emperor), 255ff.
Tao Tê King (Taoist classic), 59.
Tatar, 15.
Tatnall (captain), 286.
Tê Tsung (Emperor), 117.
Tea (poem on), 235.
Three Kingdoms (period), 99f.; (novel), 178.
Tibet, 9, 194, 230, 331.
Tien-ha (name of China), 9.
Tientsin (Treaty of), 286; (massacre of), 298.
Tih (barbarian tribe), 13.
Timur (Mongol emperor), 149.
Ting (admiral), 315.
Ting Wang (Emperor), 57.
Titsingh (Isaac), 234.
Tongking, 104, 311.
Triads (secret society), 215.
Trigrams (of Fu Hsi), 25, 31.
Tsai Tse (Prince), 332.
Ts'ao-ts'ao (general), 96, 99.
Tsêng (Marquis), 309.
Tsêng Kuo-fan (general), 276.
Tsi-an (Empress), 292.
Tsi Thsi (Empress), 292f., 305, 320, 323ff.
Tsingtao (fall of), 363.
Tso Tsung-t'ang (general), 301.
Ts'ung Chêng (Emperor), 165, 180.
Tu Fu (poet), 121.
Tuan (Prince), 323, 326.
Tuan Fang (viceroy), 325.
Tuli (son of Jenghiz Khan), 134, 144.
T'ung Chih (Emperor), 291ff.
Tung Cho (general), 95.
Tung-fang So (censor), 84.
Turguts, 228.
Turkestan, 9.
Tyler (President), 268.

V

Valignani (Jesuit), 164.
Verbiest (Jesuit), 201.
Voltaire (poem of, to Ch'ien Lung), 235-6.

W

Wade (Sir Thomas), 302, 306.
von Waldersee (Field Marshal), 328.
Wall (the Great), 76.
Wan Li (Emperor), 163f.
Wang An-shih (reformer), 135ff.
Wang Chih (Taoist), 79.
Wang Shih-ch'ung (minister), 104.
Wang Tsien (general), 75.
Ward (Frederick), 279.
Weddell (captain), 165.
Weihaiwei, 314, 316, 322.
Wei Hou (Empress), 115.
Wên (Duke), 56.

Wên Ti (Emperor), 84, 103.
Wên T'ien-hsiang (minister). 135, 145.
Wên Wang (Emperor), 38, 43.
Western Han (dynasty), 93.
Western Tsin (dynasty), 100.
White Lotus (society), 215.
Writing (invention of), 25.
Wu Hou (Empress), 114.
Wu San-kwei (general), 167, 185ff., 199f., 213.
Wu Tao-yüan (painter), 122.
Wu Ti (Han Emperor), 84.
Wu Ti (Western Tsin Emperor), 100.
Wu Ting (Emperor), 37.
Wu Ting-fang (diplomatist). 308.
Wu Tsung (T'ang Emperor), 118.
Wu Tsung (Mongol Emperor), 149; (Ming Emperor), 160.
Wu Wang (Emperor), 39, 44.
Wu Yih (Emperor), 37.

X

Xavier (S. Francis), 163.

Y

Yakoub (Khan), 300.
Yalu (Battle of the), 314.
Yang Chên (philosopher), 93.
Yang Chien (Emperor), 103.
Yangchow (massacre of), 188.
Yang Chu (philosopher), 68.
Yang Hsiung (literatus), 91.
Yang Kuei-fei (favorite), 116, 124.
Yangtse Kiang (river), 10.
Yang Kuang (Emperor), 103.
Yang Yen (reformer), 117.
Yao (Emperor), 28f.
Yeh Ming-shên (commissioner), 270, 285.
Yehonala (Empress), 312.
Yermak (Cossack), 205.
Yi (barbarian tribe), 13.
Yi King (classic), 65.
Ying Tsung (Emperor), 135; (Ming Emperor), 160.
Yü (Emperor), 30, 32f.
Yu-kuang (general), 156.
Yu Wang (Emperor), 52.
Yüan (dynasty), 143ff.
Yüan Ko-ting (son of Yüan Shih-kai), 366.
Yüan Shih-kai, 320, 332, 337f., 341f., 347, 356f., 360ff.
Yung Chêng (Emperor), 214ff.
Yung Lê (Emperor), 158.
Yung Li, 189.
Yunnan (province), 11.

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